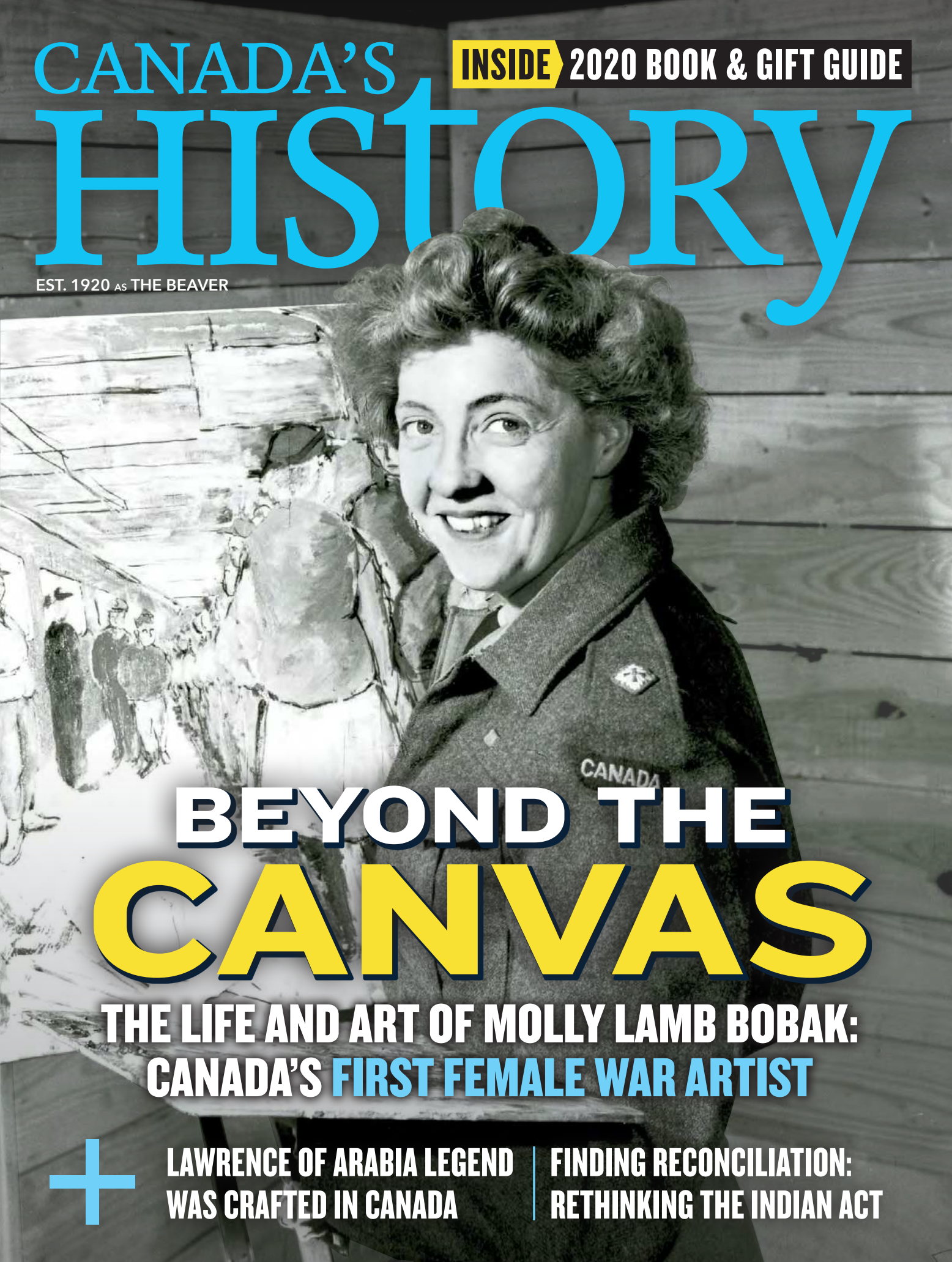
CANADA'S HISTORY

EST. 1920 AS THE BEAVER

INSIDE 2020 BOOK & GIFT GUIDE



BEYOND THE CANVAS

THE LIFE AND ART OF MOLLY LAMB BOBAK: CANADA'S FIRST FEMALE WAR ARTIST

+

LAWRENCE OF ARABIA LEGEND WAS CRAFTED IN CANADA

FINDING RECONCILIATION: RETHINKING THE INDIAN ACT

CELEBRATE

350

Join us on the second day of each month as we commemorate the founding of Hudson's Bay Company on May 2, 1670, with re-released Hudson's Bay Point Blanket colourways from our past.

THE CAMEL HUDSON'S BAY POINT BLANKET

HUDSON'S BAY

LIVE A COLOURFUL LIFE

CONTENTS

Vol 100:6

20

FEATURES

20 Lawrence of Canada

How the legend of the dashing British First World War hero went through a test run in Toronto. *by Ted Glenn*

28 Beyond the Canvas

Molly Lamb Bobak, the only Canadian woman named an official war artist of the Second World War, brought a unique vision to her work. *by Nathan M. Greenfield*

36 Finding Reconciliation

Are non-Indigenous Canadians ready to concede that we all live on land meant to be shared? Historians suggest we should be. *by Christopher Moore*

43 Sport and Reconciliation

Indigenous people are reclaiming the meanings of cultural activities like sports. *by Janice Forsyth*

COMING UP IN CANADA'S HISTORY

For the longest time, receiving a diagnosis of diabetes was akin to receiving a death sentence. And then, a century ago, Canadian medical researchers discovered a "miracle" treatment for the deadly disease – insulin.

BOX1270-ITEM51, 1918, LOWELL THOMAS COLLECTION, ARCHIVES AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, JAMES A. CANNAVINO LIBRARY, MARIST COLLEGE

CONTENTS

DEPARTMENTS

10 **The Packet** One hundred years of *The Beaver*. Read 'em and weep. HBC's black-gold era. Ship search needed.

12 **Currents** Residential schools in two provinces receive national historic designations. Canadian troops patrol Montreal amid FLQ terror incidents. Coronavirus sacks CFL season. The Oka crisis. History journals revamped.

17 **Trading Post** A field barometer belonged to an HBC chief trader.

19 **Roots** Persistence pays off in search for missing birth certificate.

46 **Books** Reviews: Gifted transformer. Symbiotic relationships. Challenging ancestries. More books: Chinese bachelor, Canadian airmen, Atlantic storms, B.C. gold rush, editorial cartoonist.

52 **Book and Gift Guide** Our 17th-annual advertising section offers a great selection of books for history lovers and other readers.

62 **Destinations** The Steveston, B.C., waterfront has two National Historic Sites. Museums exhibit modern design, Chinese culture.

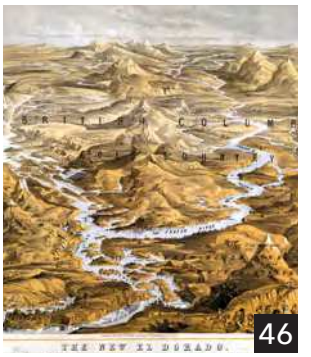
65 **History Matters** When it comes to Canada's history, representation matters.

66 **Album** Wrought-iron gates are one of a blacksmith's finest creations.

SUBSCRIBE
Save 46% on the retail price*
www.CanadasHistory.ca
*46% savings offer available on Canadian orders only

12

17


46

62

65

66

STUDY ABROAD with

THE VIMY FOUNDATION
LA FONDATION VIMY

January Application!

VIMYFOUNDATION.CA/PILGRIMAGE-AWARD

The Vimy Pilgrimage Award is for Canadian students who want to learn more about their nation's history where it happened.

Young Canadians, aged 14-17, who demonstrate outstanding community service through volunteer work are eligible to apply. Scheduled in November 2021, this is a fully-funded immersive educational program in Belgium and France to study Canada's tremendous First World War effort.

Scotiabank

vimyfoundation

AIR CANADA

By donating to Canada's History, you are helping to support all of our programs — popularizing Canadian history, honouring our best history teachers and introducing Canadian history to a new generation, just to name a few.

YOU CAN HELP CANADA'S HISTORY:

DONATE

Your donation makes a difference!

Visit CanadasHistory.ca/Community/Donate or call 1-888-816-0997

CANADA'S HISTORY

NEW ITEM IN STORE!

QUANTITIES ARE LIMITED!

BEAUTIFUL WOVEN SILK NECKTIE

ORDER ONLINE AT
CANADASHISTORY.CA/STORE
OR PHONE
1-888-816-0997

CANADA'S HISTORY

CANADA'S HISTORY
CANADASHISTORY.CA

President & CEO Janet Walker

Editor-In-Chief, Director of Content & Communications
Mark Collin Reid

Art Director
James Gillespie

Associate Editor
Phil Koch

Contributing Editors
Christopher Moore
Nelle Oosterom
Nancy Payne

Publisher, Director of Business Enterprise
Melony Ward

Advertising Inquiries
ads@CanadasHistory.ca

Online Manager
Tanja Hütter

Graphic Designer
Andrew Workman

Designer
Matthew Schellenberg

Director of Finance & Administration
Patricia Gerow

Executive Assistant
Sandy Polanski

Circulation & Marketing Manager
Danielle Chartier

Circulation Consultants
Scott Bullock, Circ3 Solutions
P.J. Brown, Etatech Consulting

Director of Programs
Joanna Dawson

Acting Director of Programs
Brooke Campbell

Education & Outreach Coordinator
Jean-Philippe Proulx

Program Coordinator
Kylie Nicolajsen

Nobleman Scholar
Brendan McShane

Canada's History magazine was founded by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1920 as *The Beaver: A Journal of Progress*. The HBC's commitment to the History Society and its programs continues today through the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation. Canada's History Society was founded in 1994 to popularize Canadian history. The society's work includes: *Canada's History* magazine, *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*, CanadasHistory.ca, and the Governor General's History Awards.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Sasha Mullally, *Chair*

Bill Caulfeild-Browne
Tim Cook
Edward Kennedy
Michèle Leduc
Bruce MacLellan
Natasha Pashak
Carla Peck
Michael Rea, *Past Chair*
Stephen Thomas

Founding Publisher
Rolph Huband
1929-2016

President Emeritus
Joe Martin

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

E. James Arnett
A. Charles Baillie
J. Douglas Barrington
W. John Bennett
Mark S. Bonham
Elsa Franklin
Charlotte Gray
John Honderich
Gillian Manning
Ry Moran
Don Newman
Richard W. Pound
H. Sanford Riley
Thomas H.B. Symons
Jane Urquhart
Greg Wong

SUBSCRIPTION SERVICES
Canada, $32.95 (GST included)
Add $10 a year for U.S. orders
Add $18 for foreign orders

Phone: 1.888.816.0997
memberservices@CanadasHistory.ca
CanadasHistory.ca/subscribe
PO Box 699
Alliston, ON L9R 1V9

ISSN 1920-9894

ADVERTISING INQUIRIES
ads@CanadasHistory.ca

EDITORIAL ADDRESS
Bryce Hall Main Floor
515 Portage Avenue
Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9
Phone: 1.888.816.0997
Fax: 204.988.9309
info@CanadasHistory.ca

©2020 Canada's History Society.
All rights reserved.

GST # 13868 1408 RT 0001

PRIVACY PREFERENCE
Occasionally, we provide our subscriber list to external organizations that have products or services of interest to our readers. If you do not wish to receive such communications, please contact Member Services memberservices@CanadasHistory.ca

Postmaster – Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to: Canada's History PO Box 699 Alliston, ON L9R 1V9

Postage paid in Winnipeg.
Publications Mail Agreement No. 40063001

Printed in Canada.

Alliance for Audited Media
The New Audit Bureau of Circulations

Funded by the Government of Canada
Financé par le gouvernement du Canada
Canada

MIX
Paper from responsible sources
FSC® C011825

CANADIAN WAR MUSEUM
-
MUSÉE CANADIEN DE LA GUERRE

FOREVER CHANGED STORIES FROM THE SECOND WORLD WAR

OPENING SOON

An exhibition developed by the Canadian War Museum.

Canada

"Because history must be inclusive."

Alexandra Moreau, recipient of The Winnipeg Foundation's Centennial Institute Award for Master's Studies in Canadian or Indigenous History

Join together with other caring Winnipeggers. Give to your favourite Cause through The Foundation and make Winnipeg better by helping local charities.

For more information about The Winnipeg Foundation's Centennial Institute, visit wpgfdn.org/centennialinstitute.

THE WINNIPEG FOUNDATION Your Community Foundation For Good. Forever.

wpgfdn.org | @wpgfdn

History is always relevant, now more than ever!

At this moment there is a demand for historians to offer context on issues including anti-racism, a global pandemic, police brutality, and settler colonialism. Everywhere we see one side accuse another of lying or distorting or "editing" history. What these struggles over the past confirm is that historical memory is a serious part of contemporary life.

Founded in 1922, the Canadian Historical Association is a bilingual not-for-profit and charitable association devoted to fostering the scholarly study and communication of history in Canada. It is the largest of its kind in the country.

You can support the work of the CHA by purchasing a membership. You can do so online at https://cha-shc.ca/.

L'histoire est toujours pertinente, maintenant plus que jamais !

En ce moment, on demande aux historien.ne.s d'offrir un contexte sur des questions telles que l'antiracisme, une pandémie mondiale, la brutalité policière et le colonialisme de peuplement. Partout, nous voyons un camp accuser un autre de mentir ou de déformer ou « d'éditer » l'histoire. Ce que ces luttes sur le passé confirment, c'est que la mémoire historique est un élément important de la vie contemporaine.

Fondée en 1922, la Société historique du Canada est une société bilingue sans but lucratif et de bienfaisance consacrée à la promotion de l'étude savante et diffusion de l'histoire au Canada. Elle est la plus importante société savante d'histoire au Canada.

Vous pouvez soutenir les activités de la SHC en adhérant à notre société. Vous pouvez le faire en ligne au https://cha-shc.ca/.

Canadian Historical Association

Société historique du Canada

Photo | Photographie : W. Ward. Detail. Vancouver City Archives 1376-5783

Hollywood blockbusters such as *Saving Private Ryan* tend to downplay the contributions of Canada and other allies to winning the world wars.

Screening history

While scrolling through Twitter the other day, a certain hashtag — #HATM — caught my eye. It stands for "Historians at the Movies" and is used by "twitterstorians" who come together online to watch their favourite films and then tweet about their accuracy.

While it's all in fun, the tweeting historians actually serve an important purpose in helping to clear the fog of false narratives that can cloud our understandings of the past.

Take, for instance, the movie version of our feature story, *Lawrence of Arabia*. The 1962 epic film about a British officer's role in helping to defeat the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East during the First World War is today considered one of the greatest movies ever made. However, the story of Lieutenant Colonel T.E. Lawrence and the "Arab revolt" of 1916–18 was greatly torqued by an American journalist, promoter, and showman.

I first encountered *Lawrence of Arabia* on CBC television decades ago. Watching it as a young person, I never once questioned the story's veracity. I certainly didn't know that many aspects of the larger-than-life tale were crafted and honed in Canada.

In this issue, writer Ted Glenn reveals the Canadian contribution to the Lawrence legend and reminds us of the importance of questioning the history that is presented to us via popular media.

Elsewhere in this issue, Janice Forsyth explores sports and Indigenous reconciliation, Nathan M. Greenfield recounts the story of war artist Molly Lamb Bobak, and contributing editor Christopher Moore examines the troubling legacy of the 1876 *Indian Act*.

As Canadians, we are constantly bombarded by American television shows and films, but Hollywood's version of history often differs greatly from reality. While I appreciate a rousing historical epic as much as the next person, real-life events are often just as compelling without the hyperbole.

Consider Canada's role in the D-Day invasion of June 1944. By day's end, Canadian troops had pushed farther inland than any of the other Allies — but you will never see that mentioned in, say, *Saving Private Ryan*.

Maybe what we really need is a new hashtag; let's call it #CHATM — Canadian Historians at the Movies. We could use it to help to ensure that Canada's stories get the attention they deserve.

Mark Reid

CONTRIBUTORS

Janice Forsyth is a member of the Fisher River Cree Nation in Manitoba and director of Indigenous Studies in the Faculty of Social Science at Western University in London, Ontario. She is the author of *Reclaiming Tom Longboat: Indigenous Self-determination in Canadian Sport* and a co-editor of *Aboriginal People and Sport in Canada: Historical Foundations and Contemporary Issues*.

Ted Glenn is an author and educator based in Toronto. His work examines the interstices of Canadian history and includes *Riding into Battle: Canadian Cyclists in the Great War* and *Embedded: Two Journalists, a Burlesque Star, and the Expedition to Oust Louis Riel*. Glenn is currently focused on the inner machinations of the cabinet of Prime Minister Sir Mackenzie Bowell.

Nathan M. Greenfield is the author of six military histories, including *The Damned: The Canadians at the Battle of Hong Kong and the POW Experience, 1941–45*, which was shortlisted for a Governor General's Literary Award for non-fiction. He became interested in Molly and Bruno Bobak because of their war art, and his book about them, entitled *Anything But a Still Life*, will appear in March 2021.

Christopher Moore has been writing for *Canada's History* for more than twenty-five years. The contributing editor's 2019 essay on Sir John A. Macdonald's legacy pertaining to the treatment of Indigenous peoples led to invitations to several panel discussions, workshops, and other conversations with leading Indigenous writers and scholars. "Those experiences inspired and shaped this essay on reconciliation and historians," he writes. Moore lives in Toronto, on traditional territories of the Haudenosaunee and Anishinaabe nations covered by sharing agreements of 1787, 1805, and 2010.

ALAMY STOCK PHOTO/A3YPJJ

CELEBRATE CANADA'S HISTORY'S 100TH ANNIVERSARY WITH RAIL TRAVEL TOURS

TRAVEL CANADA BY RAIL TO THE ATLANTIC, PACIFIC OR ARCTIC

***BOOK NOW** TO GET THIS YEAR'S RATE FOR TRAVEL IN 2021*
*THE **FIRST 5 BOOKINGS** ON EACH TOUR WILL RECEIVE A **SPECIAL GIFT***

Heritage of Halifax and the sinking of the RMS Titanic

Wednesday April 14 to Monday April 19, 2021

(First 10 bookings will get a harbour-view room at our Halifax hotel)

Roundtrip from Toronto or Ottawa, experience scenic rail journeys through Canada's Atlantic region on the anniversary of the loss of the *Titanic* and its links to Halifax. This 6-day, 5-night tour features rail trips to and from Montreal/Halifax and sleeping car accommodations on VIA Rail's *THE OCEAN* including meals in the diner car and views from the dome car. Enjoy a 3-night stay in Halifax and visit attractions such as the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic, Province House, Halifax Citadel, talks on site of both the Halifax Explosion and Fairview Lawn Cemetery with author Blair Beed, St Paul's Church and the Grand Parade, plus other experiences. Package also features local seafood meals, such as a lobster dinner, Pier 21 visit, the Alexander Keith Heritage brewery tour, transfers, tour director, detailed tour info kit and more.

Train Cabin(s) - $2,595.00 (Per Person Double Occupancy)
Single supplement add $500.00. FINAL PAYMENT DEADLINE FEBRUARY 26, 2021

Across Canada & Mountains in the Spring

Featuring two of the most scenic rail journeys in Canada

Wednesday June 9 to Tuesday June 22, 2021

Roundtrip from Toronto to Northern BC's Pacific Coast, this comprehensive tour features two of VIA Rail's most iconic trains! This 14-day 13-night package allows you to experience the heritage, size and scenery of the country including the Canadian Shield, Prairies, Rocky and Coastal Mountains. Travel on the *Canadian* to enjoy the domed observation areas, lounges and meals, prepared by VIA's chefs, in the dining car, plus sleeping car accommodations. Then travel the *Jasper–Prince Rupert* all daylight train in the Panorama Dome enjoying the views of both the Rocky and Coastal Mountains, Bulkley Canyon, Fraser and Skeena Rivers, quadruple Kitselas Tunnels and more. Includes 3 nights hotel stays in Jasper, 2 nights each in Prince George & Prince Rupert, visits to Jasper Skytram, Columbia Icefields, North Pacific Cannery Historic Site, Cow's Bay shopping district, Museum of Northern BC, Winnipeg Railway Museum, and additional exclusive heritage experiences.

Train Section/Berth(s) - $5,895.00 - Train Cabin(s) - $7,495.00 (Per Person Double Occupancy)
Single rate in a Train Cabin-1 add $800.00. FINAL PAYMENT DEADLINE APRIL 23, 2021

Canada Day in Churchill

Enjoying the arrival of the Belugas and Celebrate Manitoba's 150th

Tuesday June 29 to Monday July 5, 2021

Roundtrip from Winnipeg to celebrate Canada Day in Churchill and Manitoba's 150th anniversary of joining Confederation. This 7-day, 6-night tour features sleeping car accommodations on VIA Rail's *Winnipeg to Churchill* train, meals in the diner car and views from the dome car, 3 days and 2 nights hotel stay in Churchill, town and Hudson Bay shoreline tours, beluga whale watching, Parks Canada Interpretive Centre (located in Churchill's restored train station) presentation, the Itsanitaq Museum's renowned collection of Inuit art, Cape Merry Historic Site, Canada Day in Churchill and additional experiences. Package includes hotel stays in Churchill, rail trips, transfers, heritage attractions and presentations, most meals, tour director, detailed tour info kit and more.

Train Section/Berth(s) - $2,995.00 - Train Cabin(s) from - $3,595.00 (Per Person Double Occupancy)
Single supplement in a Train Cabin-1 add $500.00. FINAL PAYMENT DEADLINE MAY 14, 2021

CANADA'S HISTORY

Suggested pre- and post-tour nights at hotels usually located close to the train stations can be booked for you depending on availability. Prices shown do not include applicable taxes.

More details on the above and our popular fall trip to Northern Ontario at CanadasHistory.ca/travel. To book your space or more details call RAIL TRAVEL TOURS toll free at 1-866-704-3528

One hundred years of *The Beaver*

Congratulations on a superb 100th-anniversary issue (October–November 2020). It is so refreshing and so important to see the richness of the archives viewed through a new perspective and to see Indigenous experience and knowledge brought to the fore. (I've read about the Names and Knowledge Initiative before, and it was wonderful to see so many names of the individuals pictured.) This is a valuable contribution to the national conversation. Congratulations to everyone involved. As a former trade magazine editor, I can imagine the amount of planning and work that went in to this issue. And, at a much more modest level, I'm really delighted that my own contribution was able to be part of this issue.

Gillian O'Reilly
Toronto

[*Editor's note: Gillian O'Reilly submitted the Album item that appeared in the 100th-anniversary issue of* Canada's History.]

Thanks, *Canada's History*, for the 100th-anniversary edition of *The Beaver*. It is fantastic fodder for historical thinking in the classroom.

Matt Henderson
Winnipeg

One hundred! What an accomplishment. It's a perfect time to start my print subscription. Thanks for all you folks do.

Ariel Hudnall
Vancouver

Thanks so much, and congrats! Love your magazine so much — so glad I subscribed several years back.

Giancarlo Mignardi
via Instagram

This issue looks so good — I'm speechless.

Nigel Moore
via Instagram

Read 'em and weep

I believe you've made an error on page eighty-five of the 100th-anniversary issue. You say in the centre right picture that they are playing poker. They are actually playing bridge. I know this for a number of reasons: First, bridge is always played with four people. Second, the man with the hat has at least nine cards in his hand. No poker I've ever played has that many cards. Third, the man with the white shirt is keeping score, which you do in bridge but not in poker. Fourth, the woman's hand is face up on the table. She is the partner of the person keeping score. Oh, yes, one more thing — since the photo was taken in 1955, if they were playing poker, there would have been money on the table.

Brian O'Neil
via email

HBC's black-gold era

In spite of what appeared to be a well-researched article on the history of the Hudson's Bay Company ("An Epic Tale," April-May 2020), I was surprised that no mention was made of HBC's involvement in the oil industry. Hudson's Bay Oil and Gas was, in the late 1960s, the third-largest Canadian oil company. It was a logical pursuit at the time, given their large land holdings and mineral rights.

Dennis Chance,
Wetaskiwin, Alberta

Ship search needed

I read with interest the article on the Franklin expedition ("Solving the Franklin Mystery," August-September 2020). Canadians may be aware of the remarkable story and eventual discovery of these two Royal Navy vessels. It struck me, on the seventy-fifth anniversary of the end of the Battle of the Atlantic, that one day a proportionate effort might be made to discover HMCS *Bras D'Or*, an RCN minesweeper lost with all hands and without a trace in the Gulf of St. Lawrence near Anticosti Island in October of 1940. Her crew of thirty men were all volunteers. Their ship would be their grave.

John D. Ayre
Norfolk, Ontario

Compliments to Canada's History

I loved the June-July 2020 issue of *Canada's History* — such a variety of topics, interesting, beautiful art, and insights into Indigenous geography and history.

Penny Patten
via email

Erratum

In the August-September 2020 Album item, entitled "Workers repose," the Canadian Northern Railway (CNoR) line was incorrectly identified.

Email comments to editors@CanadasHistory.ca or write to *Canada's History*, Bryce Hall Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9 Canada.

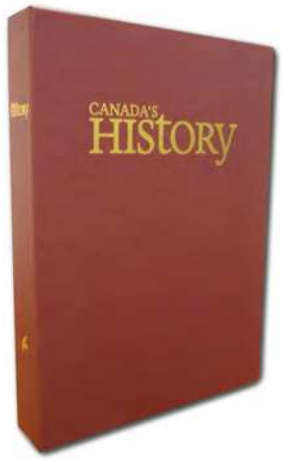
NEW EXCLUSIVE ITEMS IN STORE NOW!

QUANTITIES ARE LIMITED ORDER TODAY!

REUSABLE 3D FACE MASK | GOLD EMBROIDERED BEAVER | HANDMADE FOR CANADA'S HISTORY

MAPLE LEAF SOCKS

"I LOVE CANADA" LINEN TEA TOWEL



MAGAZINE SLIPCASE

ORDER ONLINE AT **CANADASHISTORY.CA/STORE** OR PHONE **1-888-816-0997**

CANADA'S HISTORY

Left: Students wash dishes at Portage la Prairie Indian Residential School in 1956. Top: Shubenacadie Residential School circa 1940s to 1960s. Above: Boys from Portage la Prairie Indian Residential School show off their Angus calves at the Portage Fair circa 1950.

Tragic recognition

Residential schools in Manitoba and Nova Scotia receive federal designation.

As Canada works towards the goal of reconciliation with Indigenous peoples, two former residential schools have been named National Historic Sites.

In September, Parks Canada announced the designation of both the Shubenacadie Indian Residential School in Nova Scotia and the Portage la Prairie Indian Residential School in Manitoba.

"National historic designations commemorate all aspects of Canadian history, both positive and negative," the federal government said in a press release. "While some designations recall moments of greatness and triumph, others encourage contemplation of the tragic, complex and challenging moments that define the Canada of today."

For decades, Indigenous children in Canada were separated from their families and forced to attend residential schools. Many of those children faced physical and sexual abuse and mistreatment in a system that worked to systematically destroy Indigenous culture and languages.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada estimates that about six thousand children died in the system from causes such as disease, malnourishment, suicide, and failed escape attempts.

Sue Caribou of Winnipeg spent years in the residential school system and said the schools harmed generations of Indigenous people across the country.

"A lot of us didn't make it out of residential schools, and the ones that did make it, well, our spirits were broken," Caribou said. "I was in the system my whole life, and I fight that every single day. We need to heal. We need to heal our spirits."

She called the national historic recognition "another step towards healing."

It is estimated that at least 150,000 First Nations, Inuit, and Métis children attended federally run residential schools in Canada. The last residential school in the country did not close until 1996. *– Dave Baxter*

Coronavirus sacks CFL season

After a century's worth of title games, the Canadian Football League was unable to crown a Grey Cup champion in 2020. The COVID-19 pandemic forced the cancellation of the league's season, breaking a streak of one hundred Grey Cup games going back to 1920. The Grey Cup was first presented in 1909. The only other times it was not awarded was during a four-year period between 1916 and 1919 due to the First World War and the following influenza epidemic.

TOP LEFT: UCCA, 86.158P/34. TOP RIGHT: UCCA, 86.158P/49. BOTTOM: COURTESY OF THE CANADIAN FOOTBALL HALL OF FAME AND MUSEUM

New journal tells prairie stories

The publisher of *Manitoba History* has replaced the long-running magazine with the new *Prairie History* journal, which has released two issues in 2020 and is working on a third.

According to Manitoba Historical Society president and head researcher Gordon Goldsborough, its new publication has a wider scope and presents stories about the history of a region that includes the three Prairie provinces as well as the northern U.S. borderlands. "We think our journal will be appealing to people throughout the region," Goldsborough said.

The inaugural issue of the new journal *Prairie History*.

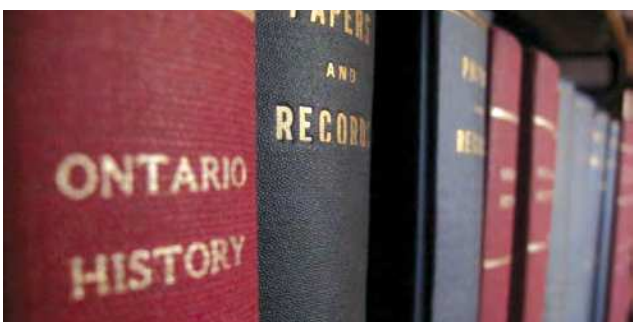
First called the Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society, the organization has produced a variety of publications and periodicals since the late eighteenth century, with *Manitoba History* having published ninety issues during its forty-year run. The founding of the new journal follows the Saskatchewan Provincial Archives' decision to end publication of *Saskatchewan History* magazine in 2017, after sixty-nine years. Back issues of both *Manitoba History* and *Saskatchewan History* are available online.

Ontario history collected online

The Ontario Historical Society has launched its new Ontario History Archive, presenting 120 years of the journal that since 1946 has been named *Ontario History*.

The OHS calls the archive, which includes more than two thousand articles and book reviews, "the largest single collection of stories about Ontario's history" and notes that it includes work by many of the province's most significant historians. OHS executive director Rob Leverty says the project took almost a decade to bring to fruition.

Issues published from 1899 to 1915 and from Autumn 2005 to 2018 can be accessed by all readers, while issues from 1916 to Spring 2005 are available only to OHS members. The journal was first published as *Papers and Records*.



TOP LEFT: MANITOBA HISTORICAL SOCIETY; BOTTOM LEFT: ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY
TOP RIGHT: CANADIAN PRESS CP13390689

BY THE NUMBERS

A Canadian soldier and an Indigenous protester engage in a tense standoff during the Oka crisis in September 1990.

The Oka crisis

Roads were barricaded and violence broke out thirty years ago during one of Canada's most high-profile moments of Indigenous defiance and protest. The Oka crisis, a land dispute between the Mohawk people of Kanesatake and the town of Oka, Quebec, erupted after the town proposed a golf course and condominium project that would have infringed on Kanesatake ancestral land.

4,000

The approximate number of Canadian Armed Forces soldiers that took up positions in and around Kanesatake on August 20, 1990, during the height of the crisis.

78

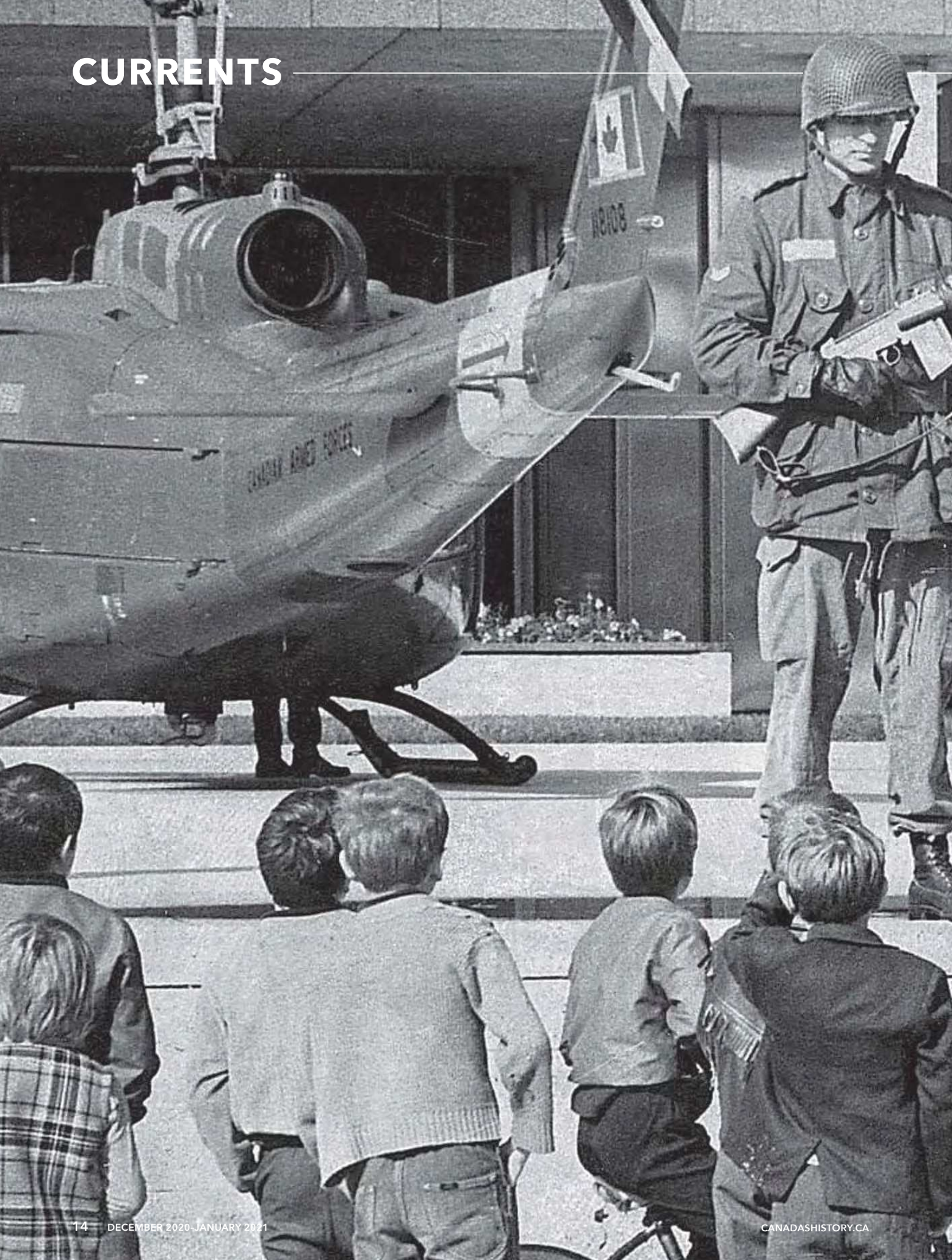
The duration, in days, of the standoff. It stretched from July 11 to September 26, 1990.

The number of years the ownership of the land in question had been in dispute. The Mohawk community had been pressing for recognition of its right to the land since 1761.

229

1

The number of people who died as a result of the Oka crisis. Quebec provincial police officer Corporal Marcel Lemay was shot and killed during a firefight with Mohawk warriors on July 11.

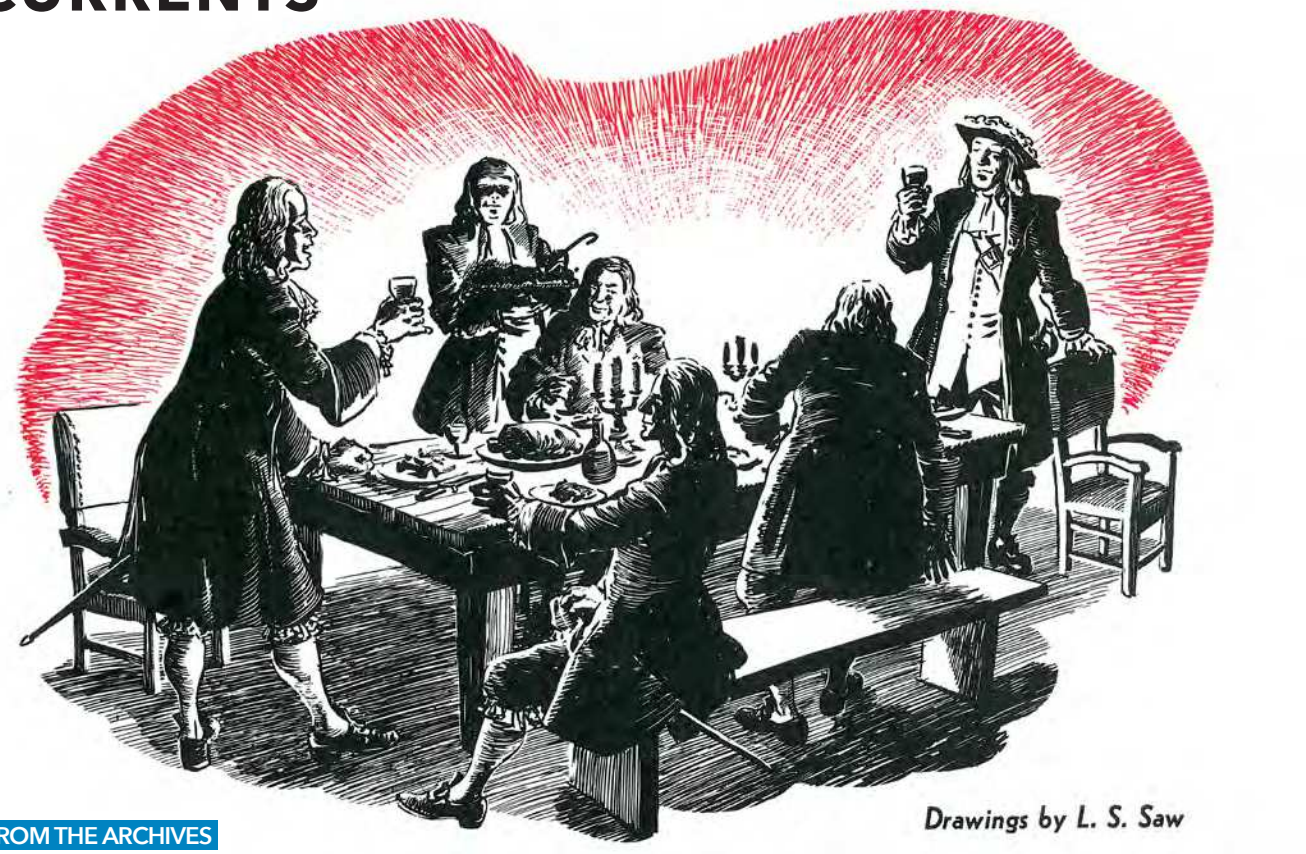


PHOTOGRAPHIC MEMORY

The October Crisis

With children looking on, an armed Canadian soldier stands guard in downtown Montreal during the height of the October Crisis. In October 1970 members of the separatist group Front de Libération du Québec kidnapped British Trade Commissioner James Cross and Quebec Labour Minister Pierre Laporte. In response, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau invoked the *War Measures Act* on October 16. Armed soldiers were deployed to the streets of Montreal and Quebec City, and certain civil liberties were suspended, leading to the arrest and detention of more than 450 individuals with alleged ties to the FLQ. On October 17, Laporte's body was discovered in the trunk of a car. On December 4, FLQ kidnappers released Cross in return for safe passage to Cuba. On December 23, Trudeau announced that troops would be withdrawn from Quebec on January 4, while the *War Measures Act* would stay in force until April 30. On December 28, three FLQ members were arrested at a farm south of Montreal and charged with the kidnapping and murder of Laporte.

© MONTREAL STAR/THE GAZETTE (MONTREAL)



FROM THE ARCHIVES

An illustration in the December 1952 issue of *The Beaver* shows HBC men at Charles Fort celebrating Christmas Day in 1670.

Memories of Christmas

HBC journal entries offer glimpses of the Yuletide season at remote outposts.

How did the men and women of the Hudson's Bay Company celebrate the holiday season while living isolated lives in frozen and remote outposts during the fur trade era?

The article "The Christmas Holyday" by Margaret Arnett MacLeod appeared in the December 1952 edition of *The Beaver* magazine. It helps to answer that question through journal entries that give readers a look at how Christmas was spent over the centuries at many of the HBC's "lonely posts in the wilderness."

The oldest account dates back 350 years and is found in the journals of Thomas Gorst, an employee of the HBC and the author of detailed accounts of life at Charles Fort near James Bay (in what is now Waskaganish, Quebec) during the latter half of the seventeenth century.

Gorst describes in great detail a Christmas feast in the "snowy woods" at Charles Fort in 1670 that was attended by a group of prominent men, including HBC Governor Charles Bayly and fur traders Médard Chouart des Groseilliers and Pierre-Esprit Radisson. The entry describes a day filled with food, drink, and feelings of nostalgia.

"25 being Christmas day wee made merry remembering our Friends in England, having for Liquor Brandy and strong beer and for Food plenty of Partridges and Venison besides what ye shipps provisions afforded," he wrote.

While this journal entry portrays what sounds like a happy celebration, HBC records also describe Christmas Days filled with hunger and despair. A journal entry from the year 1800 describes a bleak Christmas in Osnaburgh House, in what is now northwestern Ontario.

"A porr Christmas day at Osnaburgh. Very little victuals to eat and nothing to drink but water," the entry reads.

While these writings from Christmases past describe some merry days and others that were more arduous, they also show that HBC men and women over the centuries typically made as much of an effort as was possible to have a merry Christmas.

"In many years it was the only day of peace and goodwill in the time of fur trade troubles," MacLeod wrote. "But even in the worst years there was always this bright spot to be anticipated and afterwards remembered with pleasure by men and women whose Christmas traditions were those of older lands." — *Dave Baxter*

The Canada's History Archive featuring *The Beaver*, *Canada's History*, and *Kayak* was made possible with the generous support of the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation. Please visit **CanadasHistory.ca/Archive** to read a century's worth of stories.

ILLUSTRATION BY L.S. SAW, THE BEAVER, DECEMBER 1952

Field barometer

Tales and Treasures from the rich legacy of the Hudson's Bay Company

Barometers are used to measure air pressure and thereby help to forecast short-term weather changes. A small pocket or field barometer like this would have been very useful for Hudson's Bay Company employees stationed at remote trading posts. Weather changes greatly affected the hunters and trappers who traded at the posts, so having a sense of upcoming weather would have been an asset.

This barometer belonged to chief trader Keith McKenzie. He first entered service with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1864 as a clerk and spent his career in the Ungava region of Nunavik (in what is now northern Quebec) and in Nunatsiavut (in present-day northern Labrador).

McKenzie died in 1890, and his personal effects made their way into the HBC Historical Exhibit at the main Winnipeg store. This barometer would have been one of the first artifacts acquired for the HBC Museum Collection that was initiated in 1920 to celebrate the company's 250th anniversary.

— Amelia Fay, curator of the HBC Collection at the Manitoba Museum

ARTIFACTS FROM THE MANITOBA MUSEUM (HBC 98-136) / PHOTO BY ANDREW WORKMAN

HUDSON'S BAY

The Beaver magazine was originally founded as a Hudson's Bay Company publication in 1920. To read stories from past issues, go to **CanadasHistory.ca/Archive**. To explore the history of the Hudson's Bay Company, go to **hbcheritage.ca**, or follow HBC's Twitter and Instagram feeds at **@HBCHeritage.**

Canada's History Gift subscriptions as low as $27.95

THIS HOLIDAY SEASON
GIVE THE GREATEST GIFT IN
HISTORY

SAVE
OVER 40% OFF THE COVER PRICE

Share our remarkable past with gift subscriptions to *Canada's History* and *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*

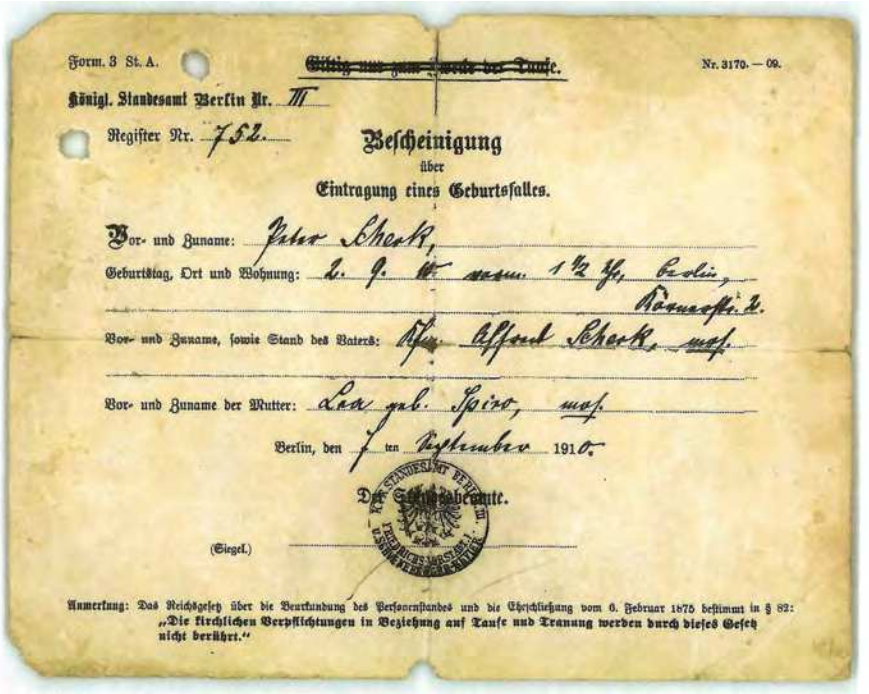
DON'T WAIT, ORDER TODAY!

Mail in the order card
Call **1-888-816-0997**
Order online at **CanadasHistory.ca**

Kayak Canada's History Magazine for Kids

Award-winning magazines for family and friends of all ages!

CANADA'S HISTORY



Form. 3 St. A. Nr. 3170. — 09.

Königl. Standesamt Berlin Nr. III

Register Nr. 752.

Bescheinigung
über
Eintragung eines Geburtsfalles.

Vor- und Zuname: Peter Scherk,

Geburtstag, Ort und Wohnung: d. 2. 9. 10. mosm. 1½ Uhr, Berlin, Roonstr. 2.

Vor- und Zuname, sowie Stand des Vaters: Kfm. Alfred Scherk, mos.

Vor- und Zuname der Mutter: Lea geb. Spiro, mos.

Berlin, den 7 ten September 1910.

Der Standesbeamte.

(Siegel.)

Anmerkung: Das Reichsgesetz über die Beurkundung des Personenstandes und die Eheschließung vom 6. Februar 1875 bestimmt in § 82: „Die kirchlichen Verpflichtungen in Beziehung auf Taufe und Trauung werden durch dieses Gesetz nicht berührt."

The German birth certificate of Peter Scherk featuring the seal of the Imperial Reichsadler.

Lost – and found!

Sometimes the solution to a family history mystery is hiding in plain sight. *by Paul Jones*

After graduation, my college roommate moved to his ancestral homeland, Germany. Forty years later, knowing I was keen on family history, he asked if I could locate a copy of his Jewish father's birth certificate.

Family lore and published sources were unanimous that father, Peter Scherk, had been born in Berlin on September 2, 1910. He fled the Nazis in the late 1930s, escaping the fate of his parents who were executed in 1942. No birth certificate survived in Peter's personal papers, and the relevant Berlin archives had been destroyed during the war. Finding a copy of the certificate was essential if my friend were to exercise his right to claim automatic German citizenship as the child of a Holocaust survivor. This was the only way he could become a German national without having to renounce his Canadian citizenship, a step he was loath to take.

At first I thought the project would be a doddle. Peter Scherk had been an academic of note, the author of sixty research papers. He had studied and taught with distinction at major universities in Germany, the United States, and Canada from the 1930s to the 1980s. Online biographies were consistent in the details of his accomplished life. How hard could it be to document the universally accepted specifics of his birth?

I began by filling in the details. A passenger manifest pinpointed Scherk's arrival in New York in 1939 with a prior residence in Prague, Czechoslovakia. In the early 1940s, Scherk appeared fleetingly in various American records. And in 1943 he accepted a full-time position on the faculty of the University of Saskatchewan. Good information, but no birth certificate.

Next, it was time for official records. But his U.S. immigration, Canadian immigration, and Canadian naturalization files were identical in one respect: no birth certificate.

Around this time, my friend shared the good news that German authorities had relented and had accepted the overwhelming circumstantial case for Scherk's birth in Germany. Even so, I was reluctant to give up the chase. What kind of family historian can't find a simple birth certificate?

The breakthrough came, as it so often does, from studying documents already in hand. Had I extracted every shred of information? Apparently not.

In the passenger manifest for Scherk's 1939 arrival in New York, I had previously interpreted his travel document "QIV-23984" as referring to a passport or exit visa from Germany or Czechoslovakia. During re-examination of the manifest, I realized there were printed instructions for logging travel documents: "Prefix number with QIV, NQIV, PV, or RP." If they were part of a foreign numbering system, why would the letters QIV appear in instructions on an American form? The simplest explanation was that the permit had been numbered in accordance with an American system and issued by an American authority. Was it possible that the granting of the permit had generated a file and that this file survived in an official American archive?

Long story short: Nine months later, and two years after my friend's initial request for assistance, I received from the United States Department of Homeland Security a file concerning Quota Immigration Visa (also known as QIV) 23984 issued to Peter Scherk on February 2, 1939, by U.S. consular staff in Prague. And, yes! — as an attachment to the application — there was a certificate dated September 7, 1910, confirming the birth in Berlin of Peter Scherk five days earlier. It was stamped with the seal of the Second German Empire, displaying the Imperial Eagle.

There was one more document in the file. Dated June 15, 1938, it stated that Dr. Peter Scherk had no criminal record in Berlin. Like the birth certificate, it was stamped with a Reichsadler, but of a somewhat different design. This one featured a swastika.

Paul Jones, a retired publisher, is a writer, a consultant, and an avid genealogist.

COURTESY OF PAUL JONES

Lieutenant-Colonel T.E. Lawrence, CB, DSO, 1918, by James McBey.

LAWRENCE OF CANADA

How the legend of the dashing British First World War hero went through a test run in Toronto.

by Ted Glenn

THE ORIGINAL VERSION OF THE LAWRENCE OF ARABIA legend goes like this: A young, blond-haired, blue-eyed English archaeologist named Thomas Edward Lawrence volunteers to fight for the British in Arabia during the First World War. He earns the trust of King Hussein of the Hejaz and his son, Prince Feisal, and works almost single-handedly, with deeds of unmatched heroism and valour, to lead the oppressed peoples of Arabia in revolt against their despotic Turkish overlords.

The Lawrence legend was created and popularized by American journalist Lowell Thomas in a series of multimedia "travelogues" that premiered in New York City in March 1919. Thomas moved the shows to London, England, in the summer of 1919 for a very popular six-month run, and then on to the capitals of the English-speaking world — Sydney, Australia, Auckland, New Zealand, Bombay (now Mumbai), India, and Ottawa — over the next decade.

By 1928, more than four million people had flocked to hear Thomas and to "experience the legend" of Lawrence of Arabia. Thomas's show became a global multimedia sensation and made Lawrence one of the earliest and most famous celebrities of the twentieth century.

"Thomas provided a war-weary Allied public with a romantic campaign to celebrate," wrote Joel Hodson in *Lawrence of Arabia and American Culture: The Making of a Transatlantic Legend*. "He gave them a gentleman cavalry general capturing Jerusalem and a modern-day knight in white robes racing around Arabia, instead of gruesome images of corpses draped over barbed wire and young men mangled by machine-gun fire and massive artillery barrages."

Thomas's role in creating and popularizing the Lawrence of Arabia legend is well-documented.

An intriguing Canadian aspect of the story, though, is buried deep in the archives. Six weeks after finishing in New York, and two and a half months before opening in London, Thomas brought his multimedia extravaganza to Toronto's Massey Hall for a limited, two-week engagement. The run was important because Toronto was the first market in which Thomas and colleagues tested their world-beating publicity machine after their uneven start in New York.

More precisely, the pieces Thomas and colleagues wrote for the *Toronto Daily Star* to promote the shows marked the first time core elements of the Lawrence of Arabia legend were published anywhere in the world.

But who was Lowell Thomas, and how did he come to meet T.E. Lawrence in Arabia? And why did he and *Star* editor and show sponsor Joe Atkinson think postwar Toronto would be a good market for shows about a minor military campaign in far-off Arabia? What were the core themes, central story elements, and hyperbolic language in the Toronto preview that would go on to captivate world audiences for decades to come?

GETTY IMAGES-154243

Thomas Edward Lawrence, left, better known as Lawrence of Arabia, with American broadcaster and explorer Lowell Thomas, circa 1918.

The story of how Lowell Thomas brought his legend of Lawrence of Arabia to Toronto's Massey Hall begins shortly after the United States entered the Great War in April 1917. Then an energetic young journalist, editor, and lecturer, Thomas used his connections and the sheer force of his personality to convince senior U.S. officials to support "a trip to Europe to gather material for a series of war travelogues." These were to be "illustrated with about three reels of colored motion pictures interspersed with 150 colored slides each" and designed to arouse "American people to a whole-hearted support for the Administration and the war."

To fund the trip, Thomas sold US$100,000 worth of shares in a newly created venture called Thomas Travelogues Inc. Covering his bases, Thomas also secured credentials as a war correspondent from twenty-six major newspapers across North America, including the *New York Globe* and the *Toronto Star*, promising to provide weekly war updates in exchange for sponsoring his travelogues after the war.

Lowell Thomas, left, in 1918, and T.E. Lawrence, right, in 1917.

After four months of stalemate on the Western Front, Thomas learned that General Edmund Allenby, who led the British forces in the Middle Eastern theatre, had captured Jerusalem. Smelling a more sensational — and saleable — story, Thomas sought British and American support to visit Palestine, arguing that "the restoration of Palestine to the Christians after 400 years of Moslem occupation was of the greatest possible importance" to North American readers.

Permissions were secured, and Thomas and cameraman Henry Chase set sail for Palestine in early January 1918.

In transit, Thomas reported hearing of "fantastic yarns … in hushed tones about a certain young Englishman who was said to be at the head of the wild Bedouin hordes which were sweeping the Turks out of Mecca, Medina, and all of Holy Arabia."

On February 27, Thomas and Chase met the man behind the rumours in the office of Colonel Ronald Storrs, the British military governor of Jerusalem.

Lawrence, twenty-nine, was not tall — only five feet four inches — with "skin too fair even to bronze after 7 years in the Arabian desert," wrote Thomas in his diary, adding that "the very quiet talking, very modest … research man from Maudlin College, Oxford" went about barefoot and in the costume of an Arab warrior: "He is an Ameer [chieftain] of

TOP: BOX1270:ITEM51, 1918. BOTTOM LEFT: BOX1521:ITEM13-3, 1918. BOTTOM RIGHT: BOX1262:ITEM30, 1918. ALL PHOTOS IN THE LOWELL THOMAS COLLECTION, ARCHIVES AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, JAMES A. CANNAVINO LIBRARY, MARIST COLLEGE

the Hejaz and only white man ever made a Sherif and probably only one who ever will be. Always alone with Arabs. Last year never slept more than 3 nights in one place. He acts for the Sherif, signs his name for him and has free hand. He really brought Arabs north into Syria. Arabs trust him because he has accomplished results that no one else ever did. Price of 5000£ on his head by Turks."

Sensing an even more sensational story than the capture of Jerusalem, Thomas sought Allenby's approval to visit Lawrence in the field to gather footage of the blue-eyed "King of the Hejaz" in action.

Thomas and Chase met Lawrence in Aqaba, in what's now southern Jordan, on March 27, along with Prince Feisal, the leader of the Arab forces.

They spent a total of five days there with Lawrence — the sum total of their time with him in the region — and another five travelling to Aba el Lissan, Shobak, and the ancient city of Petra, gathering material for their shows.

The pair left Aqaba in early April and travelled back across the Mediterranean in the summer, the Western Front in the fall, and eventually postwar revolutionary Germany in early winter, gathering stills and footage for future shows.

Back in New York after the war, Thomas and Chase spent much of February 1919 putting miles of film and tens of thousands of still photographs into the travelogue format, which was described by Thomas as "moving pictures and stills to transport audiences to places they'd only imagined ... a wholly new and spectacular form of entertainment such as no one had ever before attempted in an elaborate way."

Six shows emerged, and they were billed under various names. The main ones included *The German Revolution*, *With Allenby in Palestine*, and *Freeing Holy Arabia*. Fred Taintor, editor of the show's official sponsor, the *New York Globe*, booked the midtown New York, 2,300-seat Century Theatre for a two-week engagement beginning March 2, 1919.

Thomas originally planned to show all six travelogues at the Century, but only two — *Revolution* and *Allenby* — actually made it to the stage. According to Thomas's wife, Frances, who had accompanied her husband to Europe in 1917 and assisted in putting on his travelogues, "Tommie" had been "so swamped" with "the managing end and the publicity" that he had "not a moment to prepare speeches, or to go through his slides with Mr. Chase."

Thomas judged the Century run a "messy experiment." Financially, it was a "howling failure."

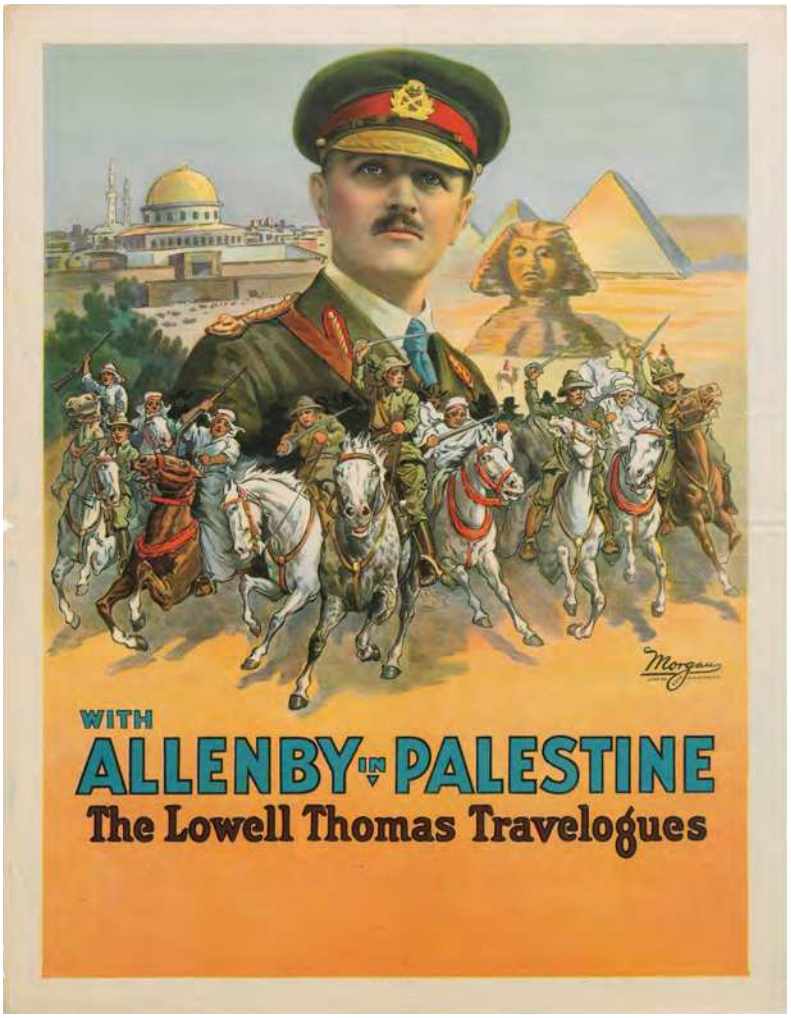
The popularity of *Allenby*, though, was enough for Taintor to book the 1,200-seat Garden Theatre (next door to Madison Square Gardens) for a five-week engagement beginning March 17. While more central for theatre-going audiences, close proximity to the Gardens had its downsides, as Frances Thomas noted in her diary: "Barnum and Bailey were next door all during the time we were there. The odors were obnoxious, but Tommy in a very clever way, at the beginning of his lecture said, 'As you

A map indicates key locations during the 1916–18 "Arab Revolt" against the Ottoman Empire.

MAP ILLUSTRATED BY MATTHEW SCHELLENBERG

THE ARAB REVOLT

In November 1914, the Ottoman Empire declared its support for Germany in the First World War. Britain, which had originally backed the Ottoman Empire, suddenly found itself in conflict with the Turks in the Middle East. The British government began to look for allies among the Arabs, who resented Ottoman rule. In June 1916, King Hussein, ruler of the Hejaz province (now part of Saudi Arabia), started an uprising with an expectation of British support. The "Arab Revolt" was led by Hussein's four sons, Ali, Abdullah, Feisal, and Zeid. In 1917, T.E. Lawrence was named an advisor to Feisal. For two years, Lawrence and Feisal led a guerilla resistance campaign against the Turks, sabotaging rail lines and other key infrastructure. The campaign worked to distract the Ottoman army from concentrating its full might against the British forces in the region. The campaign culminated in the capture of Damascus, Syria, in October 1918.



Promotional posters for Lowell Thomas's travelogues celebrate the exploits of General Edmund Allenby, commander of the British Egyptian Expeditionary Force, left, and both Allenby and Lieutenant Colonel T.E. Lawrence, known as Lawrence of Arabia, right.

probably have discovered the circus is next door. When Barnum and Bailey discovered we were making a trip to Palestine on camels, they kindly consented to put the beasts directly under us so that we might have the Oriental atmosphere.' This always went over great with a big roar and we were off on a destroyer to Malta."

Only near the end of the Garden run did Thomas decide to show *Freeing Holy Arabia*, the "amazing story of a mysterious Englishman," for the first time. In all, *Allenby* played forty of the total fifty-five show days at the Century and Garden theatres — *Revolution* seven, *Arabia* five, and *From Hoboken to the Rhine* three.

In New York, Lawrence was not yet the star of the show. The popularity of Allenby, though, allowed Thomas to hire James Craig, whom he described as "a re-write man from St. Louis," and Carl Getz, "a clever advertising and publicity man," to prepare for marketing and publicizing the shows beyond New York. London — and the world beyond — was on the radar, but not before a stop at Toronto's Massey Hall.

Legend has it that British impresario Percy Burton saw *Allenby* at the Garden Theatre and was so impressed that he "begged" Thomas to bring the travelogue to London, England. Burton purportedly promised to book the Royal Opera House in Covent Garden and to arrange a personal invitation from King George V.

Whatever transaction took place, Thomas opened at the Royal Opera House on August 14, 1919. By all accounts, opening night — and the six-month London run overall — was spectacular. The two-hour show, featuring two hundred and forty lantern slides, thirty film segments, and live musical accompaniment, stood "in striking contrast to the amateurishness of the New York shows," wrote Hodson. Which begs the question: What exactly happened between New York and London? What accounts for such a dramatic shift in focus, quality, and popularity?

According to Thomas, he, cameraman Henry Chase, and script consultant Dale Carnegie (who later went on to fame with *How to Win Friends and Influence People*) hunkered down on the ten-day transatlantic voyage to London in August 1919 and combined *Allenby* and *Arabia* into a single, more refined show: "I had always believed my two Allenby and Lawrence productions could be woven together," Thomas wrote. "Both were part of the same story. With Burton's encouragement, I now decided to

LEFT: BOX1579 ITEM06-1,1919-20. RIGHT: BOX1637 ITEM07, 1920. BOTH PHOTOS IN THE LOWELL THOMAS COLLECTION, ARCHIVES AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, JAMES A. CANNAVINO LIBRARY, MARIST COLLEGE.

combine the two. This meant cutting each by about forty-five minutes, with a complete rewrite job to be done during the Atlantic crossing.

"I saw little of the sea and not much of Fran during the trip. All day and far into the night, Dale, Chase and I were huddled over our projector and scripts, working under the pressure of an opening less than two weeks off. But by the time we docked at Southampton, we had put the two parts into a tight, swiftly moving show: *The Last Crusade — With Allenby in Palestine and Lawrence in Arabia*."

Thomas's account has been generally — and uncritically — accepted. There is evidence, however, to question its veracity. First, Frances Thomas only once mentions her husband working on the show in her relatively extensive diary entries from the transatlantic voyage: "Tommy and Carnagey [sic] are deeply interested in their lecture works," she wrote on August 2. By lunch, however, she wrote, "Carnagey was looking rather peeked and was asking for best remedies for sea sickness."

The bulk of Frances's extensive diary entries describe social life on the voyage — people watching, church services, dinners with the captain.

Her entries about "Tommy" specifically describe him "getting some good, much-earned rest." Secondly, Thomas's story fails to credit the huge amount of time and effort he and colleagues put into editing the travelogues and creating publicity for them in the weeks following the Garden run — efforts described in Thomas's own private correspondence from the period. Third, the standard account fails to credit the role played by a two-week run in Toronto in June 1919 in helping Thomas to develop and to popularize his Lawrence of Arabia legend.

Specifically, the shows at Massey Hall allowed Thomas and his colleagues to publish the first products of their New York "experiment" — a beta version, if you will — prior to both the London shows and Thomas's bestselling publications, where the legend gets its most fulsome and enduring treatment.

What made Thomas and *Toronto Daily Star* editor and show sponsor Joe Atkinson think Toronto would be a good market to run two weeks worth of travelogues about a minor campaign in the Great War?

The biggest draw was likely Torontonians' continued interest in the war and its aftermath. Stories of the German revolution, the drama of the Paris peace conference, and Canadian troops' painfully slow return home from the European front dominated Canadian newspaper headlines for the first six months of 1919.

Allenby's "crusade" in the Holy Land also resonated deeply with a very pious and still deeply religious city. And a show at Massey Hall — which a 1932 history described as the corporal epicentre of "civic and national affairs" where "outstanding figures in the religious, political, literary and scientific life of the world would be seen and heard" — was a draw in and of itself. From June 2 to 16, 1919, Thomas and Chase presented four travelogues at Massey Hall, including the renamed *With Allenby Smashing the Turks in Palestine* seven times and *Freeing Holy Arabia* six times. Frances described opening day in her diary thusly: "We opened at Massey Music Hall Toronto, the largest hall of its kind there. ... The receipts were low in view of the fact that a terrific heat wave swept over that part, and also because it was out of season for lecturers. We always had to begin with 'God Save the King' — then Tommy kidded them along by saying that the British were so modest that an American had to come and tell them of their own achievements."

Above: The interior of Massey Hall in Toronto circa early twentieth century. Lowell Thomas held a series of travelogue shows there promoting the legend of Lawrence of Arabia.

Right: Frances Thomas, the wife of Lowell Thomas, circa 1917.

The shows at Massey Hall were promoted in sixteen stories and thirteen text-heavy ads penned by Thomas and Craig and published in the *Toronto Daily Star* between May 26 and June 16, 1919. The stories are remarkable because they provide a unique and exclusive preview of the legend that would take the world by storm over the coming decade.

The stories — filled with breathless accounts of Lawrence's daring and skill — were actually by-products of longer magazine articles Thomas and Craig had prepared in the six weeks after the New York Garden Theatre engagement ended in April 1919. They were intended as publicity for upcoming shows in Columbus, Ohio, Ocean Grove, New Jersey, London, England, and Ottawa.

The eight most important of these articles were published in the American foreign-affairs magazine *Asia*

TOP RIGHT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA E011197970-V8
LOWER RIGHT: BOX1323-ITEM71, 1917-18, IN THE LOWELL THOMAS COLLECTION, ARCHIVES AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, JAMES A. CANNAVINO LIBRARY, MARIST COLLEGE.

FREEING
HOLY
ARABIA

The Wonder Story of the Great War
Colorful as the Arabian Nights

The TORONTO DAILY STAR Presents LOWELL THOMAS

In the second of his brilliant travelogues, an eyewitness account in word and picture of how the Bedouin tribes of the desert, when finally united by the genius of a heartless English youth, threw off the Turkish yoke in one of the most amazing military campaigns in history. The films and still pictures are even more beautiful than those of "With Allenby Smashing the Turks in Palestine."

HEAR

One of the most thrilling tales in British history, and one which relates for the first time the complete story of how the great war developed a new figure worthy of a place in history among such names as Clive, Warren Hastings, and the other great pioneers of Empire building in the past.

SEE

The marvelous pictures of Bedouin life in the desert; the assembling of great camel caravans; British armored cars racing into battle; the wild charge of desert cavalrymen; and, MOST SPECTACULAR OF ALL, the great rose stone city of Petra, carved out of the living rock thousands of years ago by a race whose contradict the builders of the pyramids.

MASSEY HALL

To-Night, To-morrow Afternoon & To-morrow Night

THE THOMAS TRAVELOGUE PROGRAM:

Friday night, Saturday matinee, Saturday night:
"FREEING HOLY ARABIA."
Monday evening, June 9, and Tuesday evening, June 10:
"THE GERMAN REVOLUTION."
Wednesday matinee:
"FREEING HOLY ARABIA."
Wednesday night, June 11, and Thursday evening, June 12:
"ITALY AND AROUND THE MEDITERRANEAN."
Friday evening, June 13—No engagement.
Saturday matinee, June 14, and Saturday evening:
"WITH ALLENBY SMASHING THE TURKS IN PALESTINE."

Seats on sale for all presentations. Get Star Coupons

FAREWELL
TRAVELOGUE
TO-NIGHT

THE LAST APPEARANCE OF THE FAMOUS WORLD-TRAVELER AND EXPLORER,

Lowell Thomas

Whose marvelous travelogues, presented by THE TORONTO DAILY STAR, have been the sensation of the season.

Freeing Holy Arabia

REPEATED BY POPULAR DEMAND.

Lowell Thomas, The Star Travelogist, as a member of the staff of Rear Pasa, in Arabia.

A Tale of Mystery and Adventure
Stranger than the Arabian Nights

Although all of the Lowell Thomas Travelogues have been full of sensations and thrills, this one in which Mr. Thomas takes his audiences to the trackless deserts of holy and forbidden Arabia to watch an unknown and heartless young Englishman lead a wild army of two hundred thousand Bedouins, has been the most popular of the series. He has received so many requests to give it again that he is presenting it to-night as the farewell travelogue with which he brings his Toronto engagement to an end. So to-night will be your last chance to hear him tell the amazing story of how Thomas Lawrence became a Prince of Mecca and the uncrowned King of Arabia.

Thousands of Feet of Film

Are shown with this colorful and smashing travelogue. Every inch is crowded with action, glamor, and romance; brim full of thrills and laughter, and sparkling with stories rivaling the adventures of Sinbad the Sailor, but infinitely more interesting because they are true. These are the first motion pictures that were ever taken in Holy and Forbidden Arabia. They show young Lawrence, wearing the camel's hair gown, sandals, gold sword, hagal, and kaffieh of a Prince of Mecca, leading his army of Arabs up the precipitous slopes of King Solomon's Mountains. Then there is old Auda Abu Tyi, the Bedouin Robin Hood, armored cars racing across the desert, where roam the descendants of Omar and Fatima. And most fascinating of all are the scenes among the sacred mountains of Edom in the enchanted, rose red city of Petra.

MASSEY HALL
COOLEST PLACE IN TORONTO

IMPORTANT! As this will be Mr. Thomas' last appearance in Toronto this season, thousands who have followed his entire series, as well as thousands who will make an eleventh-hour attempt to see this final travelogue will be out to-night, and we advise you to reserve your seats as early as possible. The doors will open at 7.15, one hour before the travelogue begins. This will be your last opportunity to hear the story of the "Freeing of Holy Arabia."

GET STAR COUPONS

A pair of advertisements in the *Toronto Daily Star* promote Lowell Thomas's travelogue shows at Massey Hall in 1919.

between September 1919 and August 1920. They form the basis of Thomas's entire Lawrence oeuvre. The four articles published in the British serial the *Strand* between January and April 1920 are based on very slightly rewritten versions of the *Asia* pieces. The *Asia* and *Strand* articles, in turn, make up the bulk of Thomas's bestselling 1924 biography, *With Lawrence in Arabia*, as well as the chapters on Lawrence in Thomas's 1976 autobiography, *Good Evening Everybody*. These publications were instrumental in making *Last Crusade*, the twentieth century's first multimedia production, a sensation and Lawrence — however reluctantly — among its first global superstars. By 1928, more than four million people worldwide had flocked to see *Last Crusade*, and millions more bought Thomas's publications. Torontonians unwittingly read about it first in one of their local newspapers.

In one of the first related pieces published in the *Star*, Lawrence is described as "quiet, rather shy, beardless, with ruddy cheeks." With a more expansive canvas available in *Asia* and the *Strand*, Lawrence becomes "quiet, rather shy, beardless, with ruddy cheeks, possessing in fact none of the physical attributes which attract the admiration of the Arabs in general." In the *Star*, Lawrence is a "youthful Oxford graduate" who'd "spent seven years wandering all over Arabia," "prowling among the Hittite ruins," "making archaeological investigations," and "absorbing the language, customs and traditions of the tribesmen until he was thoroughly saturated with them."

In *Asia* and the *Strand*, a more extensive biography begins with Lawrence's birth in Carnarvon, Wales; follows with his public and university education in Oxford; and then includes his Middle East travels, including work on an archaeological expedition that "uncovered part of Carchemish, the ancient capital of the Hittite Empire." In *Asia* and the *Strand*, Lawrence is said to "speak Hebrew, Arabic, Greek and Latin with much the same fluency and charm that he speaks English."

The *Star* reported that Lawrence was "summoned to Cairo" in 1914 and "made a lieutenant and placed in the map department at G.H.Q.," where "his superiors were not long discovering that Lawrence knew more about Arabia and the Arabs than all the others put together." After two years behind a desk in Cairo, according to *Asia* and the *Strand*, Lawrence asked to accompany Colonel Storrs on a visit to King Hussein in the Hejaz region, a request approved "with evident pleasure," as "General Headquarters was delighted to have the opportunity of getting rid of the altogether too independent subordinate."

The *Star* described Lawrence's defining contribution to the Arab revolt as resolving "the great problem of all ages in that country," namely getting the rival chieftains to unite under one leader. At more length in *Asia* and the *Strand*, Lawrence is said to have "achieved the impossible: he brought the disunited nomadic tribes of Arabia into a unified campaign against their Turkish oppressors — a difficult and splendid stroke of policy, which caliphs, statesmen and sultans had been unable to accomplish in centuries of effort. Thomas Lawrence placed himself at the head of the Bedouin army of the King of the Hejaz, drove the Turks from Arabia and restored the caliphate to the descendants of the prophets. Allenby liberated Palestine, the holy land of Jews and Christians; Lawrence freed Arabia, the holy land of millions of Mohammedans."

The *Star* identified the key to Lawrence's success as his uncanny ability to "win the esteem of the Bedouins" and to "completely captivate every Arab chieftain with whom he came in contact." In this, Lawrence's "chief hold upon his men was his personal bravery. He would charge ahead of the wild tribesmen into the thickest fighting. Although many bullets passed through his flowing garments, he was never once injured." Lawrence was esteemed because he "could ride harder, shoot straighter, fight with greater daring and endure the hardships of the desert with less fatigue than any of them."

Asia reported similarly: "Lawrence won the admiration and undying devotion of the Arabs because of his understanding of them, through his proficiency in their dialects and his rare knowledge of their religion, an inestimable

TORONTO DAILY STAR

Peter O'Toole, left, as T.E. Lawrence and Omar Shariff, as Sherif Ali, in a scene from the 1962 film *Lawrence of Arabia*.

THE LEGEND ON FILM

The 1962 film *Lawrence of Arabia* is today widely considered one of the most influential movies ever made. The film, directed by David Lean and starring Peter O'Toole, Alec Guiness, and Omar Shariff, among others, was nominated for ten Academy Awards, and won seven, including best picture and best director.

However, the movie also received substantial criticism upon its debut from friends and familiy members of some of the key figures depicted in the film.

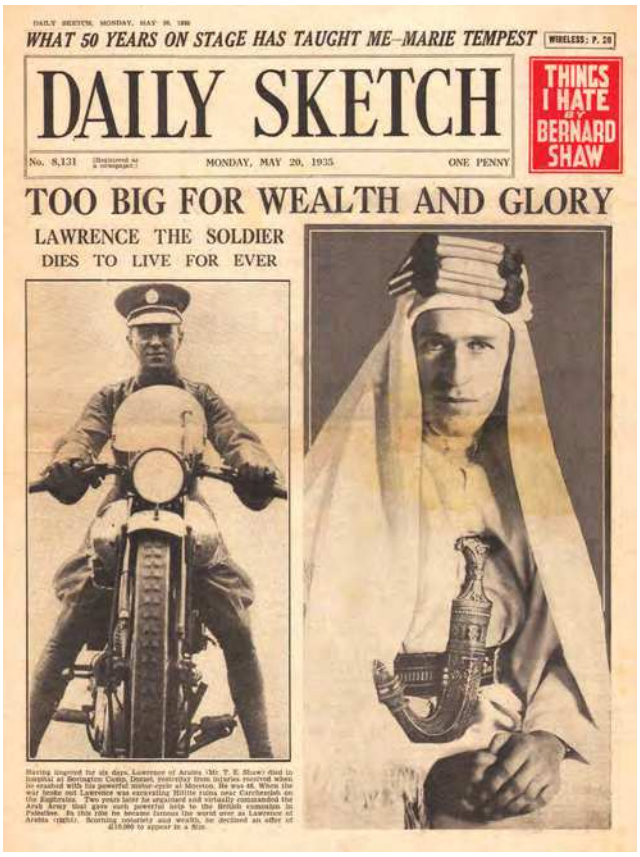
Among the criticisms, there were complaints that some scenes were heavily fictionalized. As well, the portrayals of T.E. Lawrence, General Edmund Allenby, and other key characters were panned by some as inaccurate and deliberately sensationalized compared to the real-life figures.

factor in settling disputes between antagonistic factions, and even more perhaps, because of his fearlessness and reckless courage, his ability to outdo them in nearly everything in which they themselves excelled."

The veracity of Thomas's Lawrence of Arabia legend has been the subject of much debate. According to Hodson, Lawrence himself was well aware of the production. He answered questions and posed for photos in London in Arab dress, but he had mixed feelings about the result. He once asked a friend, "Have I deserved a Lowell Thomas? ... [His articles and lectures are] as rank as possible, and are making my life very difficult for me, as I have neither the money nor the wish to maintain my constant character as the mountebank he makes me." Lawrence withdrew from public life in 1922 and later wrote his own story in the book *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*.

Thomas was not oblivious. In *Asia* he said Lawrence once sent him a note to say, "'I saw your show last night and thank God the lights were out.'" Thomas went on: "Although all London was talking about him, not even his landlady knew who he was. But the uncrowned king of Arabia could not long keep his identity a secret. A host of reporters, photographers, publishers and feminine admirers were on his trail.... After I had been reciting his exploits for two months, Lawrence implored me to return to America."

And yet he didn't. Thomas in fact travelled the world over the next decade with the legend of Lawrence of Arabia the marquee attraction — but not before Canadians read about it first in the pages of the *Toronto Star*.



WHAT 50 YEARS ON STAGE HAS TAUGHT ME—MARIE TEMPEST WIRELESS: P. 20

DAILY SKETCH

THINGS I HATE BY BERNARD SHAW

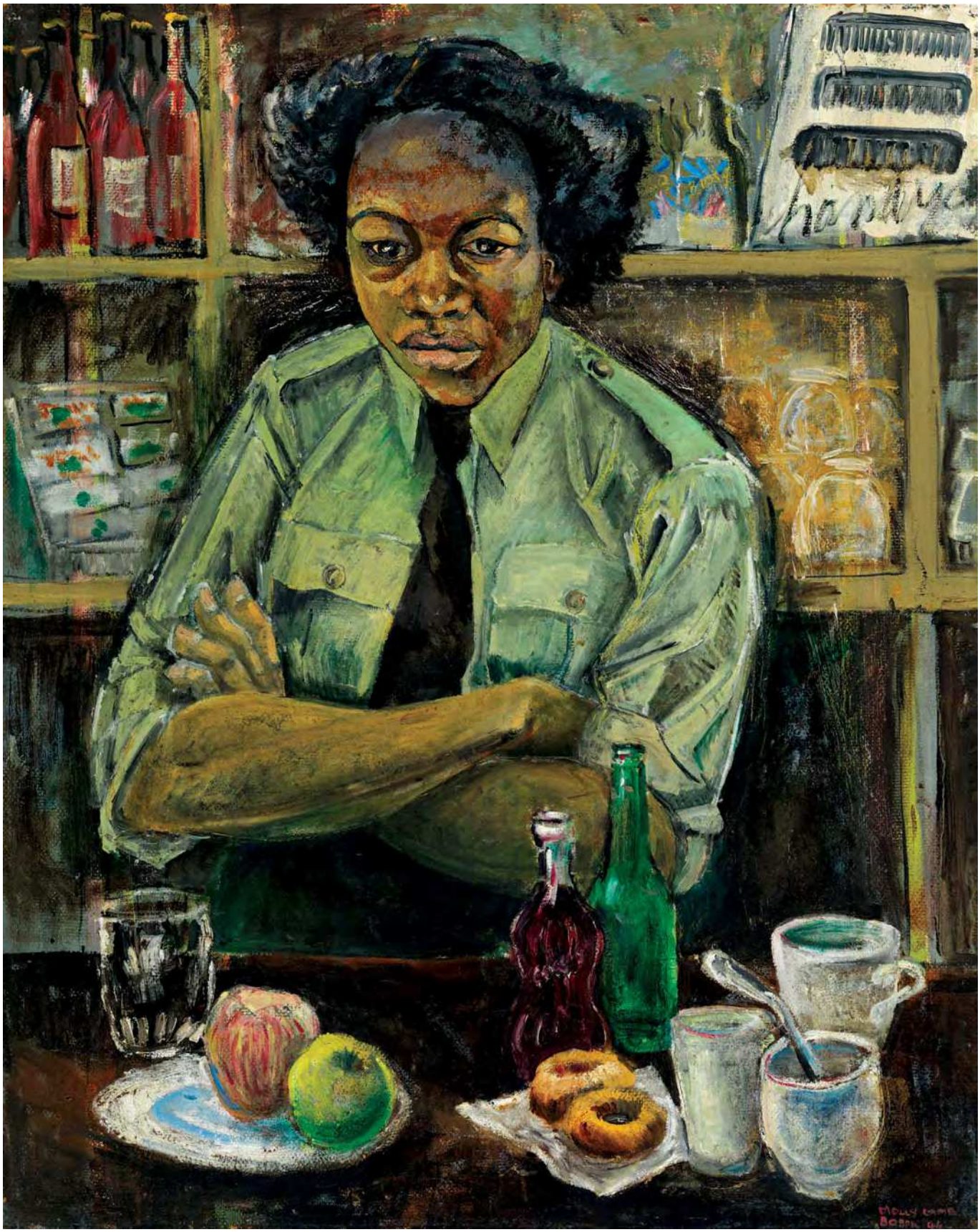
No. 8,131 MONDAY, MAY 20, 1935 ONE PENNY

TOO BIG FOR WEALTH AND GLORY

LAWRENCE THE SOLDIER DIES TO LIVE FOR EVER

The British tabloid *Daily Sketch* pays tribute to Lieutenant Colonel T.E. Lawrence after his accidental death in 1935. Lawrence died of injuries suffered in a motorcycle crash near his home in Dorset, England.

TOP: GETTY IMAGES 2887367. BOTTOM: ALAMY TXJ7E4



Private Roy, Canadian Women's Army Corps, a 1946 painting by Molly Lamb Bobak.

CWM 19710261-1626

BEYOND THE CANVAS

Molly Lamb Bobak, the only Canadian woman to serve as an official war artist of the Second World War, brought a unique vision to her work.

by Nathan M. Greenfield

AFTER LANGUISHING IN STORAGE for almost four decades, *Private Roy* has been very busy, touring at least thirteen cities over the past decade. The popularity of the Molly Lamb Bobak painting has to do with both its artistic merits and the fact that curators use it to highlight the stories of those who have often been left out of our national, largely male and British, military narrative.

Few who attended the *Exhibition of Canadian War Art* at the National Gallery of Canada a year after the end of the Second World War would have expected to come face-to-face with a powerful depiction of an African-Canadian female soldier, a member of a miniscule minority in the nation's only female military service that accepted African-Canadians in the Second World War. Lamb Bobak (née Lamb) was a Canadian Women's Army Corps officer herself, and her painting *Private Roy* is the only named portrait of a member of the CWAC, the recording of which was Lamb Bobak's remit after she became the only Canadian female official war artist in the Second World War.

In *Canvas of War: Painting the Canadian Experience, 1914 to 1945*, by Laura Brandon and Dean F. Oliver, the authors note that Canadian war artists were ordered to depict according to their "artistic sense ... the spirit and character, the appearance and the attitude of the men, as individuals or groups of the Service to which they are attached." Thus, Second Lieutenant Lamb Bobak was authorized to produce what Brandon, a retired curator of war art at the Canadian War Museum, called in an interview with *Canada's History* "a master class in composition, with the shelves in the back framing CWAC Private Roy and making her stand out." Had Lamb Bobak depicted the light falling on Roy's face realistically, the dark circles around her eyes would not exist. Instead, following the lead of expressionist painters like Oscar Kokoschka, Lamb Bobak manipulated the "lighting," creating a matte field.

This field turns the simple white of Roy's eyes into a piercing expression. This expression prompted art historian Tanya Schaap, in her 2015 essay, "'Girl Takes a Drastic Step': Molly Lamb Bobak's W110278–Diary of a CWAC," to imagine Roy, who stands with her strong arms crossed, asking the viewer, "Why are you looking at me? Have you never seen a black servicewoman before?"

In the decades that followed her painting *Private Roy*, Lamb Bobak painted the funerals of former Governor General Vincent Massey, former Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson, and her own friend Richard Hatfield, who served as premier of New Brunswick from 1970 to 1987. Her brush left us stunning crowd scenes, including from Queen Elizabeth II's visit to Fredericton in 1976, military commemorations, and the lighting of a Christmas tree in Fredericton. She produced at least a thousand watercolours of flowers, some wild and unique to New Brunswick, some not. And she became the country's most financially successful female artist of her era.

If any Canadian artist was to the art manor born, it was Lamb Bobak. Born in 1920, she was the daughter of Harold Mortimer-Lamb and Mary Williams, who was not Mortimer-Lamb's wife but became the family maid. Her father's leading position in British Columbia's mining industry insulated him against the opprobrium his unconventional lifestyle might have engendered in staid Vancouver — and it provided him the means to pursue his interest in photography and the freedom to voice support for the Group of Seven and for Emily Carr long before they were popular.

At his home in Burnaby, B.C., Mortimer-Lamb hosted Carr as well as A.Y. Jackson and other members of the group. Molly's poor grades in high school led Williams to enrol her in the Vancouver School of Art, which her father had helped to found. After she had a disappointing first year, a new teacher, Jack Shadbolt, fired her ambition by telling her that he liked a line in a sketch she had drawn of a classmate. He then told her

that to make the sketch better she had to understand the skeletal armature and musculature that lay beneath the skin, Lamb Bobak recalled at a 1978 talk at the McLaughlin Gallery in Oshawa, Ontario. Shadbolt, later an important painter in his own right, soon became another habitué of the salon-like gatherings at Mortimer-Lamb's residence, where even during the Depression, Lamb Bobak remembered in her 1978 memoir, *Wildflowers of Canada: Impressions and Sketches of a Field Artist*, the tables fairly groaned with "eclairs, cakes, sandwiches, a big jug of milk and a bigger teapot of Nabob orange pekoe tea."

At a time when most art students spent endless hours copying the great masters and drawing from plaster casts, Shadbolt introduced his students to *plein-air* (outdoors) painting and the works of Paul Cézanne. "In his mature works, this Post-Impressionist broke the pictorial plane and reassembled it to show how we perceive objects over time and in space," noted retired art historian Stuart Smith, who was a colleague of Molly's husband, Bruno Bobak, at the University of New Brunswick (UNB) and a friend of both Bobaks for decades. By following Cézanne, and by manipulating perspective so that the objects appear to be on a tilted surface, Lamb Bobak makes it seem as if the objects, like the still-life scene in front of Roy, are about to slide to the floor. This is a hallmark of many of Lamb Bobak's works.

Late in December 1942, a year after graduating from art school, Lamb joined the CWAC. Almost immediately, she began keeping what she called a "war diary," with the intent of using it to support her bid to be named an official war artist — there being no restriction against a woman being appointed to the Canadian War Art Program that had been established a few months earlier. Laid out like a broadsheet newspaper, Lamb's war diary, which she titled *W110278* — not so coincidentally, her service number — ran to almost two hundred cartoons and watercolours that detailed the CWACs' lives and foibles. A sketch made after she arrived in Vermilion, Alberta, shortly after she signed up (and which she later worked up into the 1944 oil painting *Gas Drill*) shows a group of befuddled "guppies" (raw recruits) learning to don their gas masks at minus thirty-seven degrees Celsius. Lamb increases the deviation from what the company sergeant major would have expected by having one of the guppies preen. Visual parodies like this show Lamb "criticiz[ing] the institutional conventions to which she must adhere," wrote Schaap.

Such drawings so impressed Jackson, an advisor to the Canadian War Artist Selection Committee, that he recommended Bobak to H.O. McCurry, the committee's chair, who put her on the list to become a war artist. However, Colonel A.F. Duguid, the director of the Army Historical Section that included the war artists program, believed "from the Army's point of view [that women's] appointment was not desirable as the artists were at the scene of combat." Lamb thus did not become an official war artist until after hostilities ended in Europe in April 1945.

In the interim, McCurry, who was also the director of the National Gallery, arranged to pay for Lamb's painting materials. The gallery was doing the same for the well-known painters Pegi Nichol MacLeod and Paraskeva Clark, who were painting war-related works but, since they were not soldiers, could not be appointed as official war artists. McCurry also arranged for Lamb to be transferred out of the army trades school in Hamilton, where she produced meat-cutting charts for the CWAC School of Cookery, an assignment Lamb likened to "hell" in a 2010 interview with reporter Marty Klinkenberg. Assigned to the Army Show (a theatrical and musical review), Lamb designed some four hundred costumes and sets, including those for the performance put on for British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and American President Franklin D. Roosevelt at the September 1944 Quebec Conference (at which, among other war-time issues, the two warlords discussed how Germany would be administered after its defeat).

Recalling that show on May 7, 1998, Lamb wrote in her thirty-year-long private diary that it was a "complete disaster." Yet she had warm memories of another show that featured the comedy team Wayne and Shuster because it afforded her the opportunity to discuss Cézanne with Johnny Wayne.

By the time Churchill and Roosevelt met in Quebec

Left: Lieutenant Bruno Bobak, photographed sitting on a field chair as he completes a painting in Germany in March 1945.
Right: Molly Lamb in London, England, in 1945.

LEFT: CWM 20040082-012. RIGHT: CWM 20040082-036

City, Lamb's work had already been in the public eye for six months. In March, her oil painting *Meal Parade, Hamilton Trades School* had tied for second prize in the 1944 Canadian Army Art Show. The painting depicts a sinuous line of male and female soldiers waiting to enter the mess hall; the soldiers face each other in little groups and chat, which is a leitmotif that runs through Lamb's painting of crowds. (Bruno Bobak, whom she would meet and marry in 1945, won the first prize, which prompted Vincent Massey, Canada's High Commissioner to Britain and an early proponent of the war artists program, to place the combat engineer on the road to becoming an official war artist.) During the summer of 1944, the Art Gallery of Toronto, precursor to the Art Gallery of Ontario, bought three of her CWAC drawings, and the magazine *New World* published six others.

Top: *Lamb's First Meal as Officer* (After Leonardo da Vinci's *The Last Supper*), from Molly Lamb Bobak's war diary. Above: *Gas Drill,* a 1944 painting by Molly Lamb.

The well-deserved praise Jackson and a small number of art historians have heaped on the young artist's visual renderings of CWAC life has obscured Lamb's sophisticated use of what art critics call intertextuality — the incorporation and reinterpretation of established paintings and texts for her purposes. Lamb's watercolour in the war diary of her first meal as an officer, for example, borrows heavily from Leonardo da Vinci's *The Last Supper*. She groups the uniformed figures the same way da Vinci did the apostles, even echoing the positions of their hands. The newly minted Second Lieutenant Lamb occupies Jesus's position, though instead of his mournful face hers resembles that of Tintin, the beloved Belgian boy detective, down to his befuddled expression. She even gave herself a semblance of his famous cowlick.

On the page where she first sketched *Gas Drill*, she shows a secure grasp of literature when she riffs in her diary about the cadence of Wilfrid Owen's famous First World War poem *Dulce et Decorum Est*:

"They fumble with respirators, and drop their capes on the ground.

"Their hands freeze hard before they can get into their mitts again.

"Then hundreds of amusing orders are shouted to them, making them hysterical inside their gas masks."

In her entry for August 19, 1943, Homer Lamb, one of her many pseudonyms (including Freud Lamb and Renoir Lamb) rewrites Jesus's trial before Pontius Pilate, adding a Bren gunner hiding behind olive leaves. Upon hearing the

TOP: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA 3465126. BOTTOM: CWM 19710261-1603

#1 Static Base Laundry, Canadian Women's Army Corps Folding Sheets, a 1945 painting by Molly Lamb.

"lynching mob" shout "Crucify him!" the gunner pulls the trigger, and "steel-slugs spit from my Bren and the crowd screamed and fell in the dust. And Pilate, white, looked dazed and all lay trembling in the dust. … But he in the purple robe stood still. Still crowned with thorns." An assiduous reader of the newspapers, Lamb knew that the words "lynching mob" could not help but reference the lynchings of African Americans in the American South. While Homer Lamb's imagined destruction of this mob does not result in the freeing of Jesus, it is nonetheless a piece that shows Lamb Bobak's own attitude toward racial prejudice as shown by *Private Roy*. Lamb's views can also be seen in the fact that, twice during the war, she went to see the African-American bass-baritone Paul Robeson, whose efforts for civil rights were already famous. Forty years later, after the re-election of U.S. President Ronald Reagan, Lamb Bobak noted in her diary: "Went to bed scared about the fate of blacks in the USA."

Lamb spent six weeks in England before she was allowed to go to Europe late in the summer of 1945. While in England, she documented CWAC duties in works such as *#1 Static Base Laundry, Canadian Women's Army Corps Folding Sheets*. She spent another six weeks in Europe. In her depiction of the central figure in *Canteen, Nijmegen, Holland*, Lamb adheres to the expected gender depictions of the period: Thin, shapely women work in canteens while brawny women fold sheets. She also painted haunting scenes of ruins in Bremen and other bombed out German towns.

Unlike millions of other Canadian women who were shunted out of the workforce and back into the home after the war, Bobak's status as an artist did not end when she was given an early discharge mid-1946 because she was pregnant. Even though her pregnancy made buttoning her uniform difficult, she attended the gala opening of the *Exhibition of Canadian War Art* at the National Gallery. Some months later, with her infant son, Alexander, in tow, she painted a twelve-metre mural for the federal Department of Trade and Commerce. The piece was destined for an exhibition for Australia, and her sketchy knowledge of our national winter sport led her to equip players in the scene with field hockey rather than ice hockey sticks. She learned about the mistake after the mural was completed. In May 1947, Ottawa's The Gallery mounted a show of the watercolours Molly Lamb Bobak and Bruno Bobak had painted in their few spare moments.

In 1949, at Lamb Bobak's urging, the Bobaks moved to Vancouver, where Bruno soon began teaching at the Vancouver School of Art. Around this time, finding her paintings were too "subjective" (in other words, realistic), Molly experienced a crisis in confidence. Her unease ebbed after Shadbolt advised her to think less about the subject in front of her and more about the language of painting — how colour, lines, and shapes in a two-dimensional medium create the illusion of three dimensions. Not long after speaking with Shadbolt, Lamb Bobak painted *North Vancouver Ferry*, in which, puckishly, she renders the head of a man changing a light bulb as a light bulb. Lamb Bobak's work so impressed the French philosopher Jacques Maritain that he arranged a French government scholarship for her, which allowed the Bobaks to spend part of 1951 in France.

In the 1950s, Lamb Bobak's figurative works — flowers, cityscapes and crowds — were included in five international group shows and thirty in Canada. Her success in this period is all the more notable given that her Impressionist-inspired loose brushwork and subject matter stand in stark contrast to those produced by abstract expressionists like those who formed Painters Eleven in Toronto in 1953. Her success also stands in contrast to the difficulty American abstract artists Lee Kastner and Elaine de Kooning experienced in getting art critics and dealers in New York — who by the mid-1950s were buying the works of Kastner's husband, Jackson Pollock, and de Kooning's husband, Willem de Kooning — to take the works of female abstract artists seriously.

In 1960, Lamb Bobak received one of the first Canada Council study fellowships. Since Bruno had already accepted UNB's offer of a one-year artist-in-residence position, Molly persuaded the council to allow her to divide her fellowship so that she could take part of it before and part of it after his time there. Molly also had to persuade the council that she deserved the same funding a married male artist would receive, so that she could have her family, which now included her preschool daughter, Anny (born in 1957), with her in Europe.

When Bruno's position with UNB was made permanent in 1962, the Bobaks settled in Fredericton. Molly, who had also taught at the Vancouver School of Art and via educational

CWM 19710261-1618

Molly Lamb Bobak poses for a portrait in her studio in Fredericton in 1997.

NOEL CHENIER

television in British Columbia, began teaching part-time at UNB and later taught at art schools in St. Andrews, New Brunswick, and Banff, Alberta.

Beginning in the late 1960s, Lamb Bobak served on a number of national committees, including the board of the National Film Board and Canada Post's Stamp Acquisition Committee. As a member of the National Gallery's acquisition committee, she fiercely opposed the 1989 purchase of Barnett Newman's *Voice of Fire*, the infamous abstract work that consists of three long stripes of blue, red, and blue. Lamb Bobak's opposition, which ultimately cost her a place on the committee, stemmed from her belief that the gallery should purchase Canadian art, and that if the committee was committed to purchasing an abstract work it should have considered one by Lucien Freud. She must have felt some sense of vindication two years later when it was discovered that, since its unveiling, *Voice of Fire* had been hanging upside down — and that no one had noticed.

Lamb Bobak was regularly interviewed about art on CBC Radio by, among others, Peter Gzowski as well as during the flooding of Fredericton by the St. John River in 1973.

It was no secret in Fredericton that the Bobaks' marriage was extremely difficult and survived a long-running affair of Bruno's, something Molly recorded in detail in her diaries from 1969 to 2000. More than once, Molly recorded Bruno's resentment about her "jollity" and "personality, which seems to get [a positive] response from others." Though she often wrote of wanting to separate from Bruno and to move to British Columbia's Galiano Island, Molly chose to stay with her husband. After a particularly ugly fight in August 1977, she admitted to herself one reason for staying: "I suppose I will always stay. [I] want to look after Bruno." For his part, that same year Bruno told Molly (as noted in her diary) that, when UNB music professor Rick Niall asked how he, Bruno, "could live with such a Dominating woman," Bruno simply answered that he "could stand it because he really didn't care" anymore. Indeed, many of Bruno's paintings, such as the *Wheel of Life*, can be read as reports of what is left when a marriage turns into a battlefield. His loneliness was evident when, after forty years of marriage, he told Christina Sabat, the arts reviewer for Fredericton's newspaper, the *Daily Gleaner*, "I want only to love someone and express myself through my work until I die." Towards the end of the 1990s, with the sundered marriage of another artist couple, Mary and Christopher Pratt, in mind, Molly wrote, "we've stayed more or less together — an arrangement made most probably for convenience & laziness and just maybe for an affection of a kind."

But it was also her success as a painter that caused Bruno's jealousy. "I make double the money [he does] ... but I paint," she confided to her diary in June 1989.

By then, Molly had been selling well for decades. By the mid-1960s, Molly's works were featured at Montreal's prestigious Walter Klinkhoff Gallery, and she was later represented by Galerie Eric Klinkhoff. Between 1978 and 1984, the price of an eighteen-by-fourteen-inch watercolour (almost all of her paintings were then of wildflowers) rose by almost 166 per cent, from $450 to $1,200. Oil paintings brought an even

Bruno Bobak sits in his studio in Fredericton circa the 1960s.

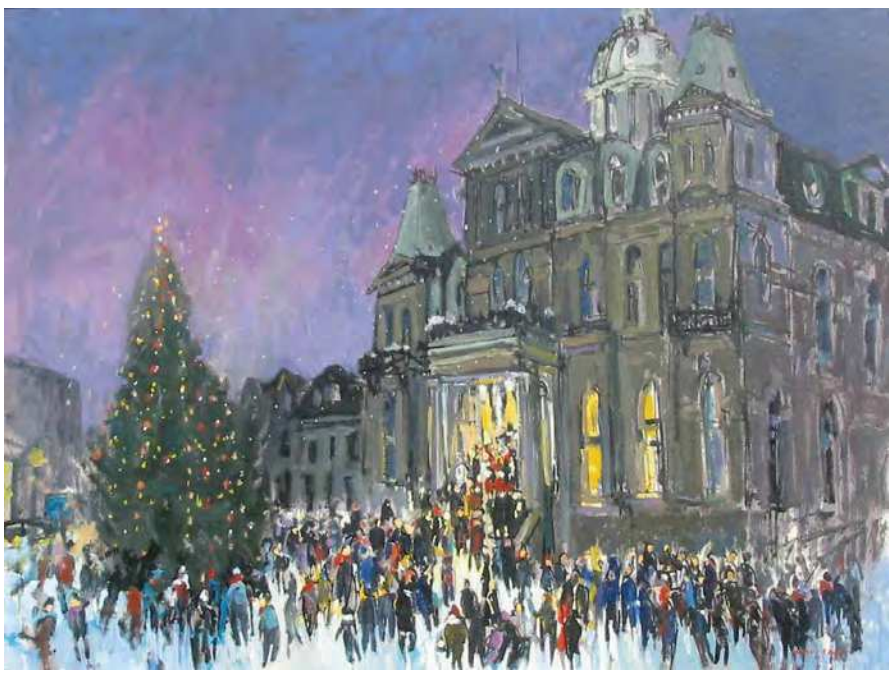
higher sum. In 1984, twenty-two-by-thirty-inch paintings were priced at $3,300, while forty-by-sixty-inch paintings were $9,900. Three years later, she earned three hundred thousand dollars. At the end of 2018, according to auction house Heffel, sales of Lamb Bobak's works in the resale art market totalled $1.3 million, the highest figure of any female Canadian artist active after 1975.

Between 1969 and 2002, Lamb Bobak painted more than a thousand watercolours of flowers, most of them portraying varieties native to New Brunswick. Her paintings of cosmos, Canada lilies, and poppies were the kind of paintings professional critics often disparage as "kitchen art." The term, which has also been used to deride the works of Lamb Bobak's Fredericton-born contemporary Mary Pratt, belittles works that lack the supposedly masculine experimental drive of, say, Alex Colville or Jean-Paul Riopelle.

In a 1989 interview with Nancy Bauer in *Arts Atlantic*, Lamb Bobak described her effort to paint lilies, explaining that she sought "to translate white flowers on white paper. The idea is to coax the flower to emerge with the least tone one can use — just expose them as simply as possible." In *Poppies*, Lamb Bobak's brushwork intimates the movement of the entire poppy. Using tinctured water, she sketched the poppy in different positions to create what appears almost like the sort of double-exposed photographs Mortimer-Lamb had developed in his darkroom when Lamb Bobak was a child. The effect makes it seem as if we are looking at two moments with one glance.

Equally important for Lamb Bobak were her crowd scenes, in which she turned local events into universal Canadian moments. For Judy Budovitch, a decades-long friend and a former member of the board of the Beaverbrook Gallery, these scenes "tell our [Fredericton's] story." *Lighting of the Christmas Tree* may portray a scene that took place in Fredericton, but the image, lighting, and the waltz of the crowd are things to which vast numbers of Canadians can relate.

Demonstration U.N.B. may have been inspired by the 1968 protest at UNB supporting Dr. Norman Strax, who was suspended after leading a group of students who refused to show their library cards when checking out books. But nothing in the painting tells us this. Instead, the work is an essay that reveals Lamb Bobak's leftist politics. Red, not white, light glows ominously from the ornate windows of the university's administrative building, signalling Lamb Bobak's view of officialdom. The protesters' white placards perform an important technical function, echoing the whiteness of the snow on the ground below them and on the building above them, and thus tying the scene together. Putting writing on the placards would, however, have limited the story Lamb Bobak wanted to tell about the Strax affair; leaving them blank shows that her real interest was to create a sym-



Lighting of the Christmas Tree, a 1982 painting by Molly Lamb Bobak.

TOP: IMAGE COURTESY ARCHIVES & SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, UNIVERSITY OF NEW BRUNSWICK. BOTTOM: PRIVATE COLLECTION

Left: *Red Poppies*, a 1977 painting by Molly Lamb Bobak. Right: Molly Lamb Bobak and Bruno Bobak at their home in Fredericton in 1998.

pathetic portrayal of the idea of protest and, thereby, to show support for one of the fundamental pillars of Canada's liberal democracy. Despite her financial means, Lamb Bobak was a reliable NDP voter and regularly contributed to the party, something that distinguished her from her increasingly conservative husband.

Lamb Bobak's diary entry for August 12, 1989, written the day after the ceremony in Calgary commemorating the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, is almost breathless: "They carried the PPCLI flags — formed a guard for the new fellows to march out on — THIS is what I will paint — the trooping [of the colours] with the old & new present." Five months later, Lamb Bobak presented *Trooping the Colours* to General Lewis MacKenzie.

By drawing the marchers, dignitaries, and onlookers in quick strokes — dots of battlefield green-and-black more signalling than describing the berets of the first three quarters of the marchers, and RCMP-like red serge and striated strokes indicating the pith helmets worn by those in the foreground — Lamb Bobak does more than create the feeling of movement.

This way of rendering the soldiers' kits fundamentally sets her work apart from what is perhaps the most famous depiction of soldiers, that of the Nazi filmmaker Leni Riefenstahl. Lamb Bobak, the old soldier and keen student of art, knew that Riefenstahl's lingering shots of the Wehrmacht's and SS's uniforms and shiny black leather kit in *Triumph of the Will* served as a stand-in for the violence at the heart of Nazism. By contrast, while the men and one woman in the PPCLI are most definitely soldiers and are engaged in a choreographed performance dating back centuries, in Lamb Bobak's narrative they are not fundamentally different from the people she painted in works such as *The Legislative Ball*, where the dancers whirl and blur, or those portrayed in the gathering of Canadian families seen in *Lighting of the Christmas Tree*.

Toward the end of my writing my forthcoming book *Anything but a Still Life: The Art and Lives of Molly Lamb and Bruno Bobak*, I met with Stuart Smith to discuss his friend's legacy. Over the course of her long career, Canada's first official female war artist received numerous accolades, including two Canada Day postage stamps (1982 and 1992), the Order of Canada (1995), and the Order of New Brunswick (2002). And yet, since the mid-1960s, but for a handful of exhibits and scholarly articles, professional and academic critics all but ignored her work. *Double Duty*, an edited version of her war diary, as well as the only two scholarly essays devoted to her during her lifetime, were all published two decades before Molly died in 2014 from the same throat cancer that had claimed Bruno two years earlier.

Lamb Bobak explained this lack of interest in her work in 1991, when, in an uncharacteristic moment of self-deprecation, she wrote, "I'm just a popular painter." She believed that her works — CWACs, flowers, crowds watching fireworks, skaters, military ceremonies — lacked the cachet of works produced by such painters as Paul-Émile Borduas, which, because of their difficulty, provide critics something to write about. However, as noted above, considering the intertextuality of her war diary and the complex experience generated by the best of her flower paintings, she sold herself short.

"What the critics miss by ignoring Molly's work," Smith said, "is the very human story she tells about the people, first in the Canadian army and, later, in the country she portrayed." Her old friend added, "Molly didn't have a mean bone in her body. It's pleasant to think, however, that she took more than a little pleasure in knowing that, on thousands of walls across this country, people have hung her works where every day they give them great pleasure."

LEFT: PAGURIAN PRESS, 1978 RIGHT: NOEL CHENIER

FINDING RECONCILIATION

Are non-Indigenous Canadians ready to concede that we all live on land meant to be shared? Historians suggest we should be.

by Christopher Moore

IN 1857 THE PROVINCE OF CANADA ENACTED A NEW LAW IT CALLED THE *Gradual Civilization Act*. Who could be against civilization? But the *Gradual Civilization Act* was not intended to encourage the arts or to raise the cultural level of backwoods settlers. It was aimed at the Indigenous peoples of the province. "Civilization" meant assimilation.

The new law authorized the government to declare any Indigenous man "enfranchised" if he were educated and could read and write. Enfranchisement provided the vote, and also a little money and a little land — both of which would come from the First Nations band of which he had formerly been a member.

Above all, enfranchisement meant that he and his spouse and children would no longer be "Indians." They would cease to be part of any Indigenous band, tribe, or nation. Enough enfranchisements, and there would be no "Indians" — and no First Nations left in Canada.

The *Gradual Civilization Act* had a long life. In 1876, with more measures for coercion and control added to it — including compulsory residential schooling — it became Canada's *Indian Act*. In the 1920s, the federal government planned further amendments. Duncan Campbell Scott, the deputy minister at the Indian Department, declared that the *Indian Act*'s "whole object" was that every Indigenous person would be "absorbed into the body politic" and cease to be an "Indian" under the law.

In North America, "civilization" projects of this kind have had an unbroken record of failure for about five hundred years. Indigenous scholars and leaders have long identified the *Indian Act* — and the Confederation-era political leaders who created it — as tools and agents of cultural genocide. In recent years, John A. Macdonald, Canada's first prime minister and the most prominent political leader of that era — and the one honoured with the most statues — has been singled out for particular criticism on this issue.

It's worth remembering that some parts of the *Indian Act* came from Conservative governments, others from Liberal governments. In the years around Confederation, all Canadian politicians and all political parties endorsed the forced assimilation of Indigenous peoples.

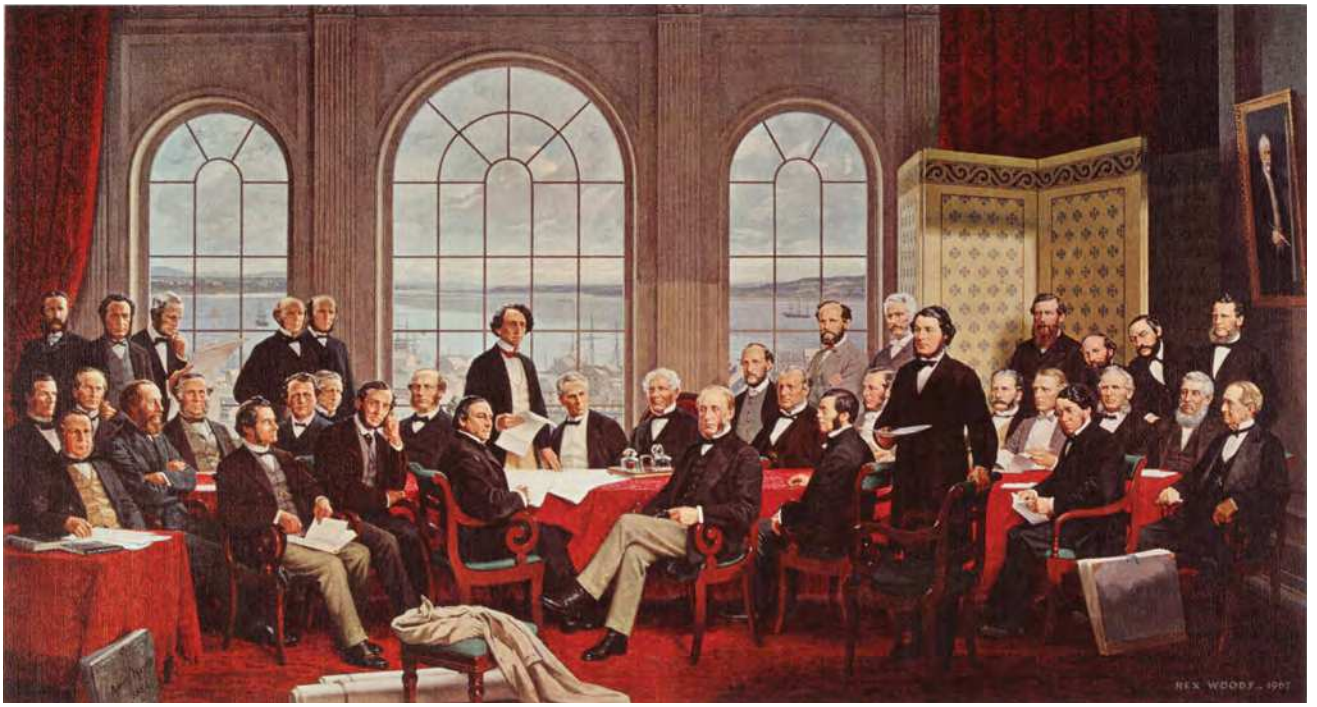
When they came to draft a constitution for Canada, however, that same generation of politicians, representing all parties, had endorsed an alternative model for relations between the Canadian state and the First Nations. When they made Confederation in 1867, the politicians who negotiated the terms of union put a Treaty-based relationship with First Nations permanently into Canada's Constitution.

It is important for the future well-being of Native-newcomer relations, treaty implementation, and the social cohesion of Canada that everyone come to recognize that "we are all treaty people."

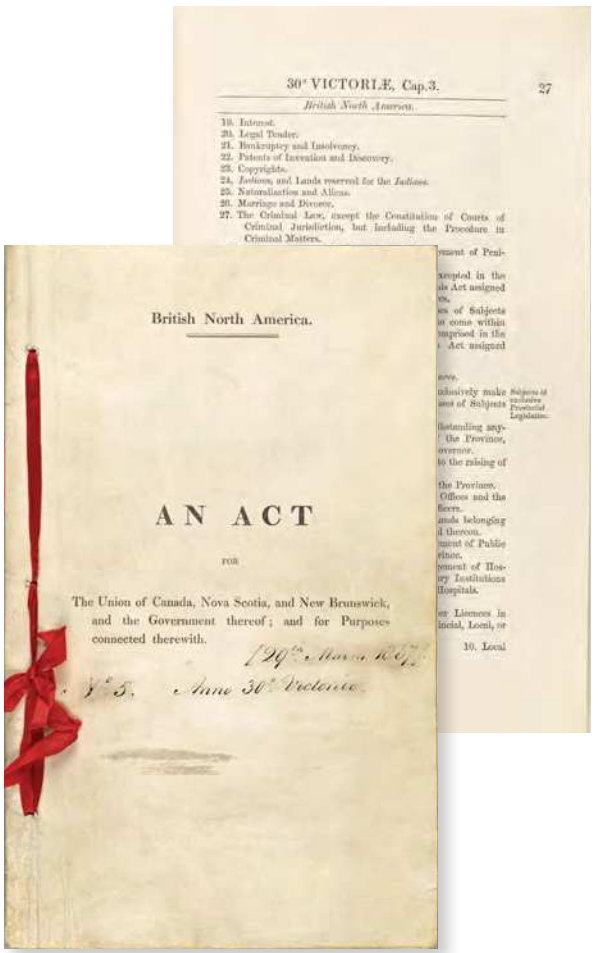
– *J.R. Miller*, Compact, Contract, Covenant

First Nations protestors assert their rights during an Idle No More march in Ottawa in 2013.

MATERIAL PUBLISHED WITH THE EXPRESS PERMISSION OF: CANADA.COM, A DIVISION OF POST MEDIA NETWORK INC.



Above: *The Fathers of Confederation*, by Rex Woods. Below: A copy of the *British North America Act*, including a page that references the line, "Indians, and Lands reserved for Indians." The reference made relations with Indigenous peoples a federal responsibility under law.



30° VICTORIÆ, Cap. 3. 27

British North America.

19. Interest.
20. Legal Tender.
21. Bankruptcy and Insolvency.
22. Patents of Invention and Discovery.
23. Copyrights.
24. *Indians*, and Lands reserved for the *Indians*.
25. Naturalization and Aliens.
26. Marriage and Divorce.
27. The Criminal Law, except the Constitution of Courts of Criminal Jurisdiction, but including the Procedure in Criminal Matters.

British North America.

AN ACT

FOR

The Union of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and the Government thereof; and for Purposes connected therewith.

[29th March 1867]

Anno 30° Victoria

THE TREATY RELATIONSHIP

No one from the First Nations participated in framing the *British North America Act* of 1867, and there is only a single line about Indigenous peoples in it. That one line, however, made "Indians and lands reserved for Indians" a federal responsibility, and therefore embedded the Treaty-making obligation in Canada's constitution.

Unlike the *Indian Act*, which was created and administered by the Canadian government alone, Treaties were agreements between two parties — Canada and the First Nations. Where the *Indian Act* offered only coercion, the Treaty process promised, at least in theory, a relationship between equals.

Treaty-based relationships are older than the *British North America Act* or the *Indian Act*, even older than British North America. Indigenous nations of North America had negotiated Treaties among themselves before Europeans ever reached the Americas. French, British, and Dutch colonizers all made Treaties with the First Nations — for trade, for military alliances, for the use of land.

When the British government displaced France in North America, it needed to build alliances with First Nations who had long been allies of New France. To hasten that process, Britain declared, in the Royal Proclamation of 1763, that land belonging to Indigenous nations of North America could never pass into the possession of British subjects except through Treaties between the Crown and the First Nations. Such Treaties had to be negotiated "at some public meeting or assembly of the said Indians to be held for that purpose by the governor or commander-in-chief

TOP: REX WOODS/LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA, C-142821.8. REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF ROGERS COMMUNICATIONS INC.
BOTTOM LEFT: PARLIAMENTARY ARCHIVE

of our colony." The Crown was acknowledging that First Nations were self-governing powers holding territory and able to enter freely into this kind of diplomacy.

In 1764, many First Nations — old allies as well as former enemies of the British — gathered at Niagara in present-day Ontario and ratified a new alliance with the British Crown. The symbol of the Treaty of Niagara was the Two-Row Wampum, a traditional piece of beaded artwork that expressed the essence of the agreement. On the Two-Row Wampum, the allies — both newcomers and Indigenous peoples — were depicted as two canoes travelling in tandem along separate, parallel streams. That image — First Nations and colonial powers as independent allies bound by Treaty — was the tradition that was constitutionalized in the *British North America Act*'s brief reference to Indigenous peoples and their land. It bound the new federal government to negotiate with independent First Nations on land questions.

From Confederation, a fundamental tension existed in Canadian law and policy on Indigenous matters: on one hand, the coercive, assimilative program driven by the Indian Act and, on the other, the Treaty-based relationship with self-governing equals. That is the conflict with which Canada still struggles.

At least, it is a conflict if Treaties matter. But, from the time the Canadian government started making Treaties, it had another word for them: "surrenders." Ottawa interpreted its Treaties to mean that, through them, First Nations' land ownership was "extinguished." In the Canadian government's view, most of the work of a Treaty was done the moment it was signed, for it documented not a relationship but only a permanent transfer of authority. The numbered Treaties made by the new government of Canada, starting in 1871, cover territory from Hudson Bay to the Rockies and up to the Arctic. The printed text of each Treaty included a blunt declaration that the involved bands and tribes would "cede, yield, release, and surrender" their land to the Crown and to Canada.

For most of a hundred years from the 1870s, Canada's assertion that Treaties were surrenders, in which Indigenous title was extinguished and the land became Canada's to use as it pleased, meant that the Treaty process reinforced the *Indian Act*. "They have operated in tandem," Hayden King of the Yellowhead Institute, an Indigenous research centre at Toronto's Ryerson University, told me in 2020. "Look at the numbered Treaties of the Confederation era. The most draconian elements of the *Indian Act* were developed precisely in tandem with the Treaties of 1876 to 1920: the confinement to reserves, the economic harassment, the removal of children. I can't help but think they were dual sides of the same process." By 1927 the *Indian Act* even forbade Indian bands from hiring lawyers to assert their Treaty rights, a rule that lasted twenty-five years.

THE CANADIAN PRESS/CHRIS YOUNG

Councillors from the Chippewas of the Thames First Nation hold aloft a Two-Row Wampum Belt at a National Energy Board hearing in 2013. Could the Two-Row Wampum's image of separate peoples on parallel paths symbolise reconciliation in the twenty-first century?

Members of an Algonquin community in Ontario display wampum belts representing their Treaties circa early to mid twentieth century.

COURTESY OF ALGONQUINS OF BARRIERE LAKE

A NEW SENSE OF TREATY MAKING

Ever since the first Treaties were made, Indigenous leaders have insisted that the words in the printed texts do not tell the truth of the Treaties. They have asserted that the actual Treaty negotiations — at the "public meeting or assembly of the said Indians," as required by the royal proclamation — were not land sales but genuine agreements about mutual assistance and about how First Nations and newcomers could share the land and its resources.

When I spoke in 2011 with Stan Louttit, then the grand chief of the Mushkegowuk Cree of northern Ontario, he knew why his grandfather had put his mark on the James Bay Treaty early in the twentieth century. "They were poor," he said simply. By agreeing to share the resources of their land with Canada, they calculated that they might gain tools, and education, and medicine as well as protection from unregulated incursions by outsiders. But sharing was not surrender.

Early this year, Harold Johnson, a Cree writer and lawyer in La Ronge, Saskatchewan, told me how his great-grandfather observed the negotiation of Treaty 6 and understood that it meant "your family came here and asked to live with us on our territory and we agreed. We adopted you in a ceremony that your family and mine call a Treaty."

John Borrows is Anishinaabe/Ojibway and a member of the Chippewas of the Nawash First Nation in Ontario as well as the Canada Research Chair in Indigenous Law at the University of Victoria.

He described how his great-grandfather helped to make a Treaty that covers six hundred thousand hectares in what is now southern Ontario: "He understood it as an invitation for settlers to come and live among us. I believe he understood the people would live peacefully and would share ideas — religious, economic, all kinds — and that the settlers would also learn and understand our laws about how to live."

None among these Indigenous leaders, writers, and scholars believes that their ancestors "surrendered" their people's homeland or agreed to the "extinguishment" of their rights. They never heard those words at the Treaty talks. But the Canadian government's version of Treaty making as surrenders and extinguishments dominated the legal and historical record for a long time. In the century-long heyday of the *Indian Act*, Indigenous understandings of the Treaty process were derided and dismissed by governments, by courts, and by historians. An Ontario judge, William Riddell, declared in 1921 that, on this matter, "there are no troublesome subtleties in Canadian law."

THE RETURN OF TREATIES

Since the 1970s, Indigenous advocacy for a different understanding of rights and Treaties has begun to make headway. In that decade, the Nisga'a of British Columbia and the Cree of Quebec convinced the Supreme Court of Canada to make landmark rulings confirming that Indigenous title was a legal reality.

In the last fifty years, Canadian courts have begun to rule that Treaties remain in force and have to be respected. In a 1990 judgment called the Sioui case, the Supreme Court declared that the Crown must interpret Treaties not for its own convenience but "in the sense in which they would naturally be understood by Indians."

As Canada's courts revived Treaty law, Canadian historians — both Indigenous and non-Indigenous — began to provide scholarly support for the long-standing Indigenous understanding of the Treaty relationship.

As historians looked more closely, they learned that First Nations often initiated Treaty making and were seeking aid such as agricultural assistance, territorial protection, and education. They employed traditional rituals of Treaty making and bargained hard for their interests. "We have a rich country; it is the Great Spirit who gave us this," said Mawedopenais, one of the Ojibwa negotiators of Treaty 3 in 1873. "Where we stand upon is the Indians' property." Historical records confirmed the oral evidence: Canada's Treaty commissioners were consistently obliged to make verbal commitments that the land was to remain with its people.

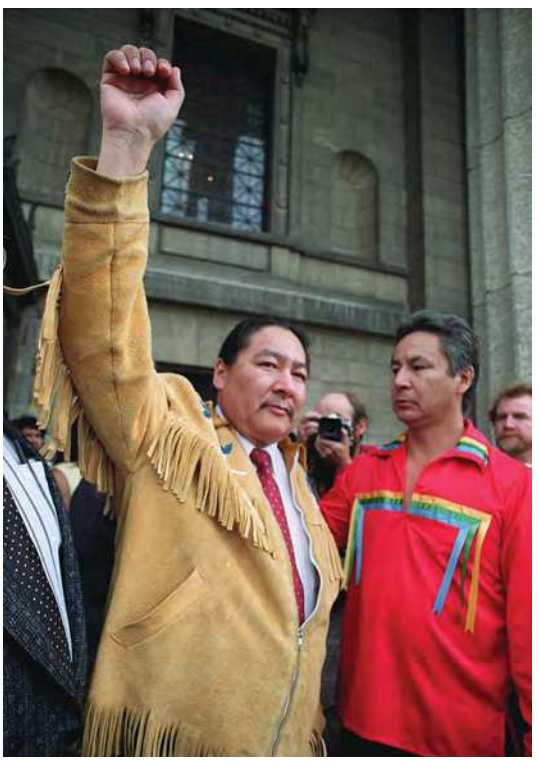
In 1899, when Treaty 8 was being made on the northern prairies, the chiefs declared their people unwilling to be cooped up on reserves, since this meant they would be unable to follow their seasonal rounds. The Treaty commissioners had to assure them "that the Treaty would not lead to any forced interference with their mode of life."

In 1905, negotiating Treaty 9 in northern Ontario, commissioner Duncan Campbell Scott had to declare that reserves could never limit the people's movements — they were only places where no white man could trouble them.

As to their concerns about losing their lands, he assured them, "The land will always be yours. You may hunt and fish forever." On such assurances, chiefs put their marks on Treaty documents that were already printed with an entirely different set of understandings, including words like "surrender" and "extinguish."

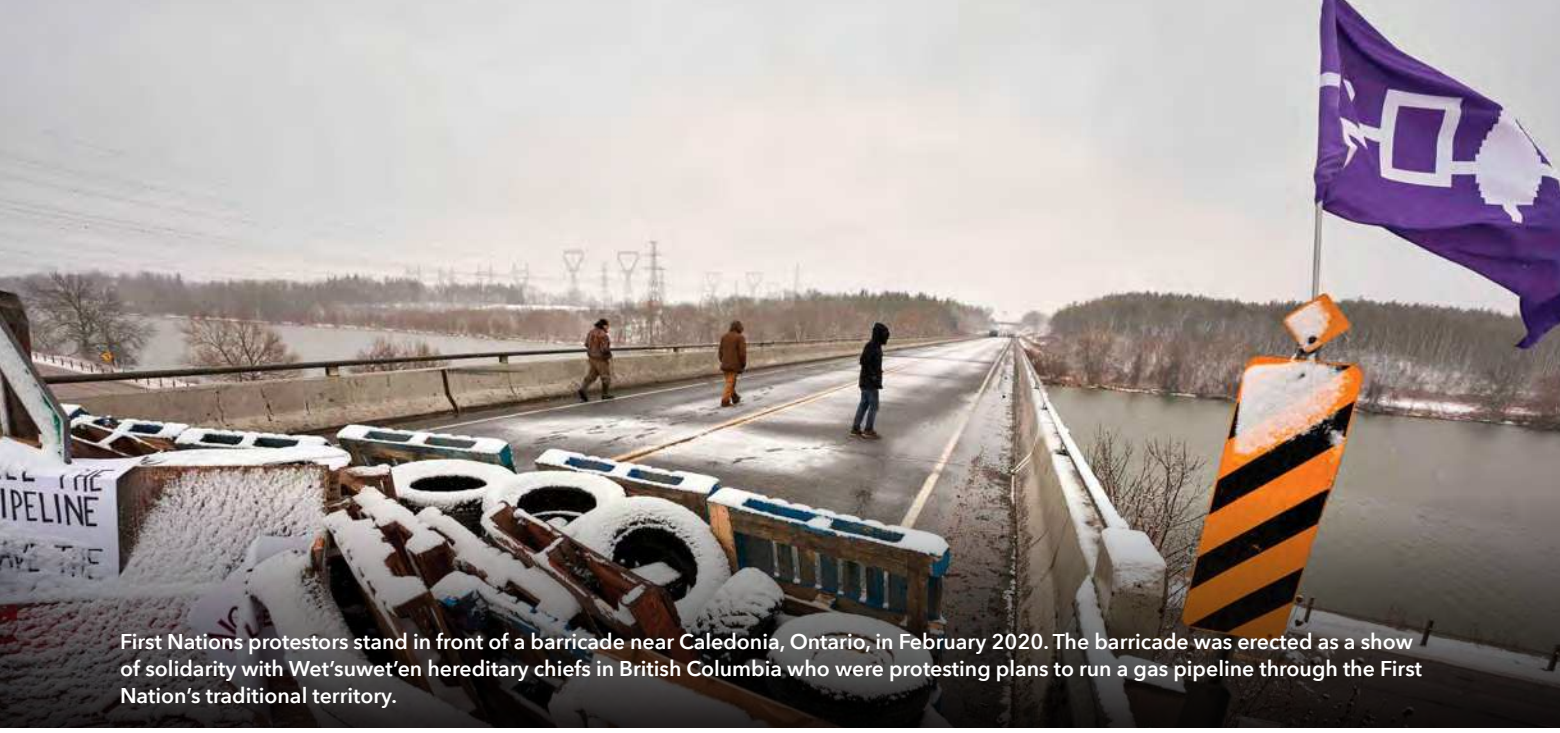
Summed up in studies like *Canada's First Nations* (1992), by Métis historian Olive Dickason, and *Compact, Contract, Covenant: Aboriginal Treaty Making in Canada* (2009), by historian J.R. "Jim" Miller of the University of Saskatchewan, historians of the Treaty relationship began to express a new consensus that is one of the great achievements of recent Canadian historical scholarship.

As the subtitle of John Long's history *Treaty No. 9: Making the Agreement to Share the Land in Far Northern Ontario in 1905* (2010) declares, Treaties as negotiated were not surrenders but "agreements to share the land."



Left: Manitoba Member of the Legislative Assembly Elijah Harper, shown here with arm raised, played a key role in killing the *Meech Lake Accord* in 1987. Right: *Crowfoot addressing the Marquis of Lorne; pow-wow at Blackfoot Crossing, Bow River, September 10, 1881*, by Sydney Prior Hall. Siksika Chief Crowfoot used the historic meeting with Canada's Governor General to assert the sovereignty of his people.

LEFT: WAYNE GLOWACKI/WINNIPEG FREE PRESS/THE CANADIAN PRESS. RIGHT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA C 121918



First Nations protestors stand in front of a barricade near Caledonia, Ontario, in February 2020. The barricade was erected as a show of solidarity with Wet'suwet'en hereditary chiefs in British Columbia who were protesting plans to run a gas pipeline through the First Nation's traditional territory.

A PATH TO RECONCILIATION?

Can a Treaty-based relationship, an agreement to share, now replace the coercive *Indian Act* as the basis of dealings between First Nations and Canada? Few non-Indigenous Canadians may have deeply considered the implications of "sharing the land," but guidelines do exist in commission reports, legal studies, and proposals for discussion. For First Nations leaders, at least, the basic principles are clear.

The late Arthur Manuel of British Columbia's Secwepemc Nation, sometimes called the "Nelson Mandela of Indigenous peoples" for his global perspective on rights issues, saw two clear requirements. The first was the recognition of First Nations governments "with powers and jurisdiction appropriate to a distinct order of government within the Canadian federation." The second was a secure economic base, grounded in sharing the land and its resources, to make these Indigenous governments viable and self-supporting, not simply dependent on funds from Ottawa. (Manuel did not argue that First Nations should have these rights. He insisted that they already have them and that these rights are guaranteed by Treaties, by the Canadian Constitution, and by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.)

"Say we use the Treaty as the framework," the Yellowhead Institute's Hayden King said. "Look at Crown land in Ontario, for instance. Let us share jurisdiction, share resources, share revenues from that territory. All communities would have to be engaged. They would reach agreement on how to share: moose hides, gold mines, water, power resources. At the same time, we would also be better able to honour our obligation to the land, to the animals. That would be one manifestation of getting back to the Treaty relationship."

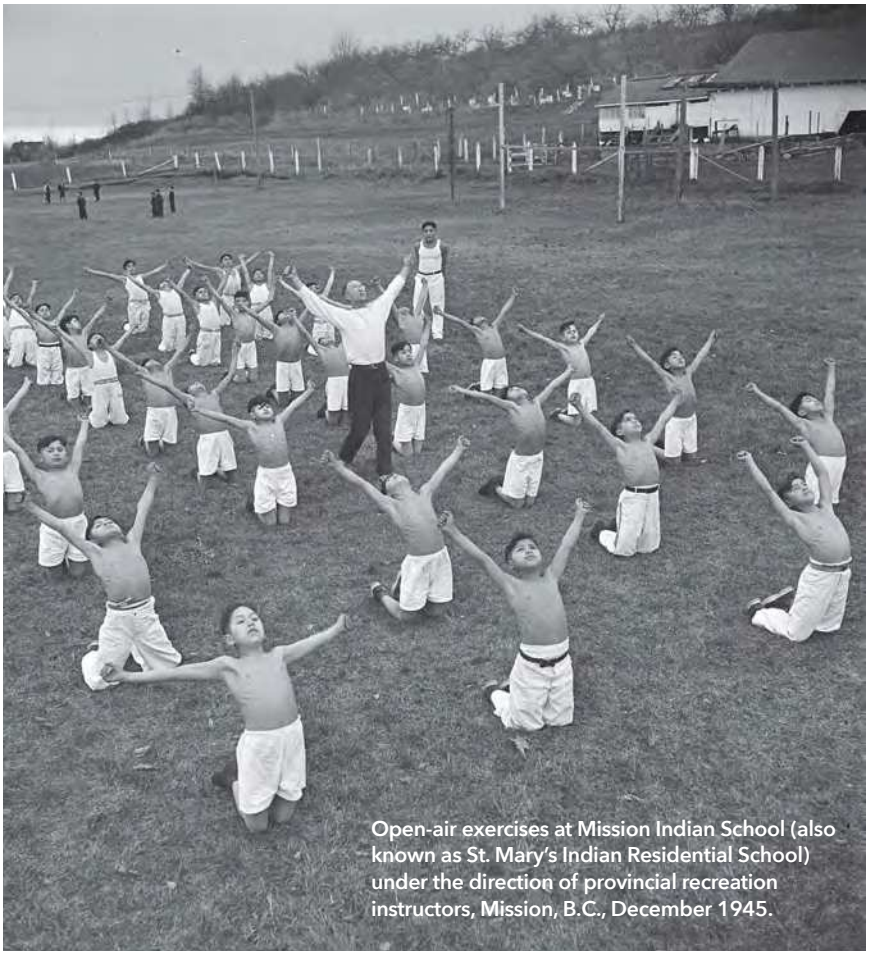
Early in 2020, the crisis over the pipeline being constructed across Wet'suwet'en territory in British Columbia demonstrated how difficult the sharing concept remains for governments and corporations, and probably for most Canadians. Few denied the enduring Wet'suwet'en title to the land the pipeline being constructed would cross — there is no Treaty there — yet many Canadians seemed unable to conceive of a Wet'suwet'en right to say no to a megaproject endorsed by non-Indigenous governments.

Yet a relationship based on the *Indian Act*, where a cabinet minister in Ottawa must play the role of police chief, health and welfare director, school board chair, and development officer for every reserve community in Canada, offers no workable future. In recent years, Attawapiskat in northern Ontario's Treaty 9 territory has become notorious as one of the country's poorest and most deprived communities. Yet Attawapiskat has diamonds, among other resources, practically in its backyard, on land Ontario considers surrendered. Peoples who own and control diamonds are rarely poor. If we acknowledged Treaty 9 as an agreement to share the land, not as a surrender of it, a Treaty share of such resources could make the Cree and Ojibwa of Treaty 9, and other First Nations across Canada prosperous and secure, able to run their own schools, clinics, and police departments by their own policies and revenues.

Few enough Canadians are yet ready to concede the existence of an Indigenous right to share the Canadian land and to draw from it revenues that could secure and support a prosperous independence within the Canadian federation. Perhaps no Canadian government could yet propose such an agreement and survive future elections. Yet reconciliation depends on it.

Reconciliation based on sharing is what is proposed by the Treaty relationships that have endured through centuries of contact. The relationship based on the *Indian Act* has been a failure for a century and a half. The First Nations — and most of our historians, too — see a better future in the other, older way, the Treaty relationship that was embedded in the Canadian Constitution a century and a half ago.

GEOFF ROBINS/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES 1203464



Open-air exercises at Mission Indian School (also known as St. Mary's Indian Residential School) under the direction of provincial recreation instructors, Mission, B.C., December 1945.

JACK LONG, NATIONAL FILM BOARD OF CANADA, LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA, PA-160943

OPEN BOOK

Sport and reconciliation

Tom Longboat was a celebrated long-distance runner from Six Nations of the Grand River in Ontario. In the early twentieth century, when foot races were extremely popular, Longboat set numerous world records, won major races in North America and Europe, and competed for Canada at the 1908 Olympic Games. The Onondaga athlete, who served as a distance runner during the First World War, has been recognized in Ontario with a day in his honour and across Canada with awards given in his name since 1951.

Yet, as Janice Forsyth notes in Reclaiming Tom Longboat: Indigenous Self-determination in Canadian Sport*, media portrayals of Longboat varied between admiration and disdain, with many reports based upon racialized stereotypes. Forsyth — herself the winner of a Tom Longboat Award — draws on research showing that Longboat was derided by some because "he made his own decisions about training, racing, and the conduct of his life" and thereby countered expectations of an Indigenous athlete.*

Forsyth's book is not so much about rehabilitating Longboat's own reputation as it is about charting the history of the awards given in his name and the effects they have had for their recipients and other Indigenous people. She writes that many recipients "incorporated, resisted, challenged, or subverted the official meanings produced by government and sports officials, thereby making the awards their own." In her efforts to help to reclaim the meanings of sport for Indigenous peoples as part of the ongoing work of reconciliation, Forsyth looks back to the use of sports and games at residential schools.

Schooling bodies

by Janice Forsyth

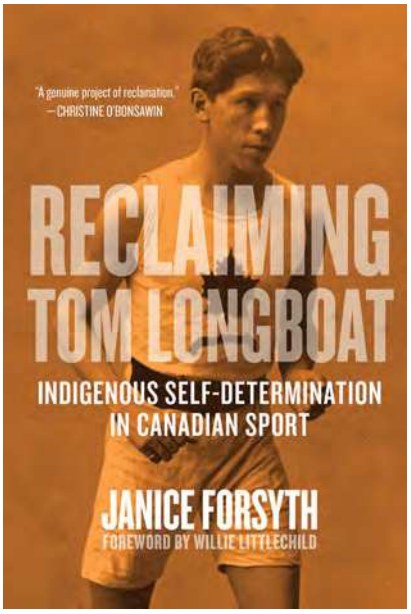
THE MOST AGGRESSIVE ATTEMPT TO Christianize and civilize Indigenous people occurred through the Indian residential school system. In his detailed study of residential schools in Canada, J.R. Miller discusses the difference between education and schooling, noting how the two concepts are often mistaken as one and the same. According to Miller, education is a process that all cultures of the world possess, but not all cultures engage in schooling to educate their young. The difference between these two practices is more than a matter of degree; it has to do with practices fundamental to creating and maintaining cultural stability.

Before Europeans settled in North America, Indigenous people received their education by learning how to survive on the land, and physical games and contests were central to this training. For example, the Dene and Athapaskan participated in a variety of games to develop strength, speed, flexibility, and endurance. Both men and women joined in activities that emphasized the gendered nature of their roles, which entailed different strenuous tasks. As one fur trader noted at Fort Resolution around 1800, "it is true the men have to undergo the fatigue of the chase, but still the women must carry the meat home." The Inuit, whose traditional territory spans the most northerly reaches of the continent, competed in events — such as the knuckle hop, mouth pull, and ear lift — that developed the same skills as the Dene but with an emphasis on pain tolerance. This was meant to prepare them mentally and physically for the harsh realities of life on the land in an extreme climate.

Traditional sports and games were also key sites for reinforcing social, political, economic, and spiritual aspects of life. For the Haudenosaunee, whose home extended along both sides of the St. Lawrence River

and Lake Ontario, lacrosse was a means by which to cement social ties, physically prepare men for war, engage in economic relations, connect with the spiritual world, and have fun. Although some activities, such as lacrosse, were connected to religious traditions, others, such as the Inuit ear lift, were not. Yet all physical activities were crucial for maintaining their practitioners' unique cultural identities and connection to the land while ensuring basic survival.

Changes came with the formal establishment of the Indian residential school system in the late nineteenth century. …



In 1860, responsibility for Indigenous-settler relations was transferred from the British Crown to the Province of Canada, and a new bureau focusing on Indian administration was established. In 1867, the new federal government, under the Department of Secretary of State, was given legislative responsibility for managing its relationship with Indigenous nations. Soon, an administrative team was charged with creating a national policy on Indigenous education, and it drew on the services of the Roman Catholic, Anglican, Methodist, and Presbyterian Churches to implement its program. It was in this fashion that the two major institutions in Canada — the church and the state — came to dominate Indigenous life, pooling their human and financial resources to Christianize and civilize Indigenous children. For more than a hundred and fifteen years, beginning in 1880, when the Department of Indian Affairs was established and drafted the first policy on Indigenous education, to 1996, when the last government-run residential school closed its doors, more than 150,000 Indigenous youth received their education away from home and off the land.

For the schooling to be effective, it had to be a lived experience. Euro-Canadian sports and games were integral to the department's program of assimilation, a reality well understood by Indigenous people today. The 1996 Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples notes how the department used popular Euro-Canadian sports and games to help to bring about fundamental changes in the values and behaviours of Indigenous students. It was thought that participation in Euro-Canadian activities would contribute to the breakdown of communal values by fostering a competitive spirit among pupils and that, hopefully, through regulated instruction, the skills they learned would translate into a desire for individual achievement and wealth. …

Generally speaking, in Canada, federal priorities for Indigenous education shaped the sport and recreation activities offered at government-run schools. Two broad phases, differentiated by amendments made in 1951 to the *Indian Act*, characterized the federal approach to Indigenous education. The policy approach taken during each phase shaped the sport and recreation opportunities available at residential schools — from which many of the Tom Longboat Award winners came — especially between 1951 and 1972, the first administrative era of the awards. As federal policy on Indigenous education shifted, so did its emphasis on sports and games.

In the pre-1951 era, the primary responsibility for schooling of Indigenous youth fell to the churches. Left largely to their own devices, religious officials implemented curricula geared to their own practical and moral objectives. Financial support was provided by the federal government through a grant based upon the number of students enrolled in each school. The more students identified on the registry, the greater the amount of funding from Indian Affairs. The per capita grant system might have been a financially prudent decision in the eyes of bureaucrats in Ottawa, but in practice it led to fierce denominational rivalry among the different sects competing for students. This rivalry, combined with the lack of a standard curriculum and the means to enforce it, meant that residential schools throughout this period were

> Federal officials believed that athletic contests would help to facilitate integration, and they encouraged team sports

chronically underfunded, almost always in disrepair, poorly staffed, and lacking in qualified teachers.

During this era, physical-activity programs were linked directly to biological health, in addition to concerns about assimilation. From the late 1800s to the late 1940s, waves of communicable diseases circulated through the schools, wreaking havoc on the bodies of Indigenous pupils, who were generally overworked, underfed, and emotionally exhausted, leaving them vulnerable to viruses and infections. This vulnerability was exacerbated by the terrible living conditions inside the schools, which had overcrowded rooms and poor air circulation. … The introduction of physical activities was thus an efficient and cost-effective way to deal with the recurrent health issues in the schools.

Top: An Inuit women's boot race on a sports day at Wakeham Bay (now Kangiqsujuaq), Quebec, circa June or July 1928. Sports days often gave Indigenous people occasions to practise traditional cultural activities. Above left: Girls at Kenora Indian Residential School, Kenora, Ontario, circa 1950. Above right: Boys at Spanish Indian Residential School, Spanish, Ontario, with "Black Hawks" written on the ball, circa 1940s.

Initially, calisthenic programs were used widely as part of the health curriculum. The Department of Indian Affairs introduced these exercises in 1910 in an effort to reduce the spread of pulmonary diseases among Indigenous pupils. These exercises could be performed indoors when the weather was poor because they required relatively little space and no equipment, but instructors were encouraged to move outdoors whenever possible to capitalize on the fresh air. Indigenous bodies, once a symbol of strength and virility, were repositioned within the growing discourse on physical education as weak and diseased, justifying the need for proper and orderly instruction on how to regain vitality.

The introduction of calisthenic programs coincided with the use of military drills, also a common feature of the public school system because of funding through the Strathcona Trust. The link between military training and nationalism was unmistakable, since the drills were designed to replace tribal allegiance with a sense of patriotic duty. …

Popular recreational activities, such as baseball, basketball, hockey, and lacrosse, rounded out the regimen and provided students with some respite from the monotony of everyday life. These opportunities were few and far between and available mainly to boys. For the most part, students played among themselves, though from time to time activities were organized with students from nearby residential schools or, less frequently, with non-Indigenous students from nearby towns and cities. … They were not a right but a reward for "good" behaviour. Pupils who disobeyed the rules or who fell into disfavour with instructors could have their recreational privileges taken away. …

A poignant example of how "regulated desire" functioned in one residential school, as well as student responses to what was offered, is found in Basil Johnston's semi-autobiographical novel *Indian School Days*. Johnston recalls his youth at the Spanish Indian Residential School (later renamed Garnier), an all-male institution in northern Ontario. He describes how, in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the students were divided into four groups named after professional hockey teams — the Montreal Canadiens, the Toronto Maple Leafs, the New York Rangers, and the Chicago Black Hawks — and competed against each other in loosely organized events. The primary objective was to foster a competitive spirit among the students in the discharge of their regular chores. If one member failed to live up to the expectations of the Jesuit instructors, then the entire team suffered for his negligence; the team that finished first was usually given a bit of free time. Interscholastic competition served a more dubious purpose at Spanish, since it was meant to exhaust the students, thus ensuring that any remaining energy would be spent on the playing fields rather than in an attempt to run away. …

The post-1951 era saw a shift in the balance of power between church and state, with Indian Affairs taking on more responsibility for government-run residential schools. … Athletic competitions became a more pronounced feature of residential schools during this era, as federal officials believed that athletic contests would help to facilitate integration, and they encouraged school staff to promote participation, especially in team sports. The in-house league at

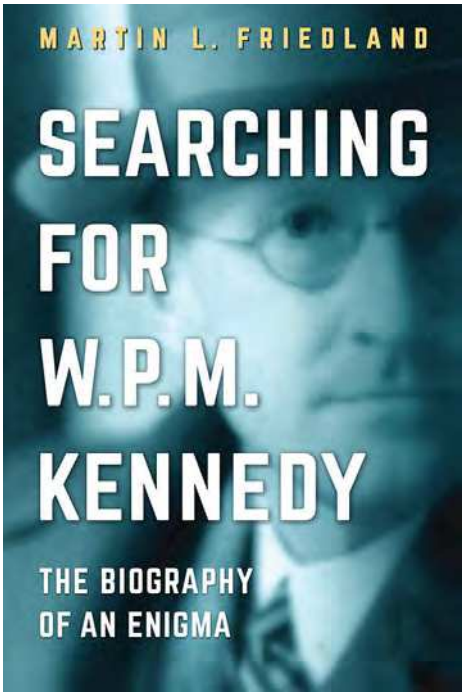
TOP: CANADA.DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORT; LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA, PA-127263. LOWER LEFT: WESTERN ARCHIVES AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, WESTERN UNIVERSITY; JAN EISENHARDT FONDS, AFC 451.SS-F35 KENORA R.S. (RC). LOWER RIGHT: SHINGWAUK RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS CENTRE, ALGOMA UNIVERSITY.

Spanish that Johnston describes in *Indian School Days* was expanded in the 1950s to include competitions against local white teams in a range of sports, including softball, baseball, touch football, boxing, basketball, and hockey. …

With the development of a competitive ethos in the school system, winning took on an increased significance as athletic competitions became the arena in which ideas about race, ethnicity, class, and gender were contested on a regular basis. Students as well as their instructors placed a high premium on successful teams and athletes, especially when competing in explicitly racialized contests of "Indians" versus "whites." For many Indigenous youth, athletic competitions were also one of the few areas of life in which they could derive some pleasure and foster a sense of pride. Sometimes the contests were one-sided affairs. Male athletes at Spanish, for example, repeatedly had their clothes and bodies "patched up" and sent back onto the playing field to finish matches against older and stronger white teams.

In *Indian School Days*, Johnston recalls one particularly memorable game of touch football played against a group of senior high school students from the nearby town of Espanola, Ontario. His remembrance not only highlights the importance of winning but also suggests the heightened sense of masculinity and racial identification that students might have felt in a competitive atmosphere: "If we were expected to risk cuts, gashes, lacerations, bruises, welts and maybe even broken bones while clinging to Jack Major or oversized backs, we preferred to maintain some style and respectability while doing so." If Johnston and his teammates could not win against the white teams, then losing with their dignity intact was the next best thing.

From Reclaiming Tom Longboat: Indigenous Self-determination in Canadian Sport, *by Janice Forsyth. Reprinted with permission of University of Regina Press.*



GIFTED TRANSFORMER

Searching for W.P.M. Kennedy: The Biography of an Enigma

by Martin L. Friedland
University of Toronto Press,
504 pages, $49.95

In the preface to his masterful biography of W.P.M. Kennedy, the first dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Toronto, Martin Friedland tells the story of his own purchase of a 150-acre (sixty-hectare) cottage on the banks of the Magnetawan River near the town of Kearney, Ontario. Friedland bought the property from Frere Kennedy, the son of "the Dean." After settling in, he found two large boxes containing letters and documents that had been shipped to the cottage during Kennedy's long tenure there.

That story contains intrigue and a bit of mystery, which, as we learn, amply reflects the nature of W.P.M. Kennedy's life. Kennedy had made a point of destroying many boxes and files after he retired in his late sixties, thus making the challenge of piecing together the different parts of his life all the more difficult.

Born in 1879 in Northern Ireland as the son of a Presbyterian minister, Kennedy journeyed to Trinity College Dublin, where he studied English literature and history, receiving his B.A. and M.A. under the tutelage of John Pentland Mahaffy. In his later curriculum vitae, Kennedy never mentioned his birthplace, his Protestant roots, or his early childhood. He eventually received a D.Litt. degree from Trinity College Dublin, based on his scholarly work on Tudor ecclesiastical history, and spent some years associated with an Anglo-Catholic retreat at Mirfield Monastery in England before converting to Roman Catholicism.

All of this happened before Kennedy's time in Canada, which began in 1913 at Nova Scotia's St. Francis Xavier University, where he taught history. He left that institution under a cloud because of an affair with a student. But, by virtue of his friendship with the archbishop of Toronto, Neil McNeil, he came to St. Michael's College and, eventually, other work at the University of Toronto.

A brilliant lecturer, conversationalist, and scholar, Kennedy shifted his interests to constitutional history and law, becoming dean of a law faculty whose teachers he recruited and whose curriculum he designed. Early in his tenure at U of T, the letters "LLB" were added to his biography following his name, and an M.A. was attributed to Oxford University. The dean of the Faculty of Law, Kennedy never formally studied law as

a student, but his brilliance was neither contrived nor artificial.

Friedland deftly weaves an account of Kennedy's complex life with great insight and scholarship. His book touches on Kennedy's intellectual contributions, which were significant, his charisma and panache as a teacher, and his success in building a faculty. He dealt with the thrust and parry of university politics and made important contributions to public policy. The book also gives a compelling account of the battles between the Law Society of Upper Canada and the university, and it explains how Kennedy's legacy was largely forgotten until quite recently.

There were people who thought Kennedy was more a self-promoter than an "enigma," but Friedland paints a portrait that is sympathetic, richly documented, and very human. Kennedy's life was difficult in many ways, and his last years were painful as he became more isolated. He was not straightforward, but his contributions were real, and his gifts were many.

Having known many of Kennedy's students, I know how deeply they revered him and the lasting impact he had on them. We can be grateful that Martin Friedland has taken the time to give us this remarkably comprehensive account of a man and his time.

Reviewed by **Bob Rae**, who is the Canadian Ambassador to the United Nations in New York.

SYMBIOTIC RELATIONSHIPS

Power, Prime Ministers and the Press: The Battle for Truth on Parliament Hill

by Robert Lewis
Dundurn Press, 376 pages, $24

So many fascinating windows onto political history are pried open in books and memoirs from journalists. Freed from their routines of tight deadlines and limited space, members of the fourth estate can write sustained narratives on events and personalities they know intimately. Some, like André Pratte, Graham Fraser, and Jeff Simpson, focus on public-policy issues; others, like Ed Greenspon, Richard Gwyn, Michel Vastel, and Peter C. Newman, document key periods; while still others record their impressions and interpretations.

Power, Prime Ministers and the Press, by former *Maclean's* magazine editor-in-chief Robert Lewis, straddles history, memoir, and analysis. Its subtitle — *The Battle for Truth on Parliament Hill* — grabs your attention, but Lewis mainly discusses the generations of political reporters from the 1860s to our times. He is informative and entertaining, writing in the easy style of magazine journalism about tensions between people elected to govern and those who dig up information for the public.

The book offers both chronological and institutional perspectives while focusing on the Parliamentary Press Gallery, the professional association that has been part of political reporting since Confederation. The gallery is very protective of journalistic independence, which is reflected in its distant, informal relationship with both government and Parliament. Yet the relationship is symbiotic, because politicians need to be seen and heard, while publishers need stories to attract readers, advertisers, and investors.

Lewis brings to life many people who were famous in their days. He describes the partisan and sometimes financial connections between politicians and some journalists in earlier eras, yet he is awed by "reporters who worked long hours for low wages" and for whom journalism "was a calling."

As his primary source, Lewis uses published memoirs — which are often colourful but very subjective. These are supplemented with archival materials, his own interviews, and earlier studies, notably by Allan Levine. Lewis structures his account around many brief biographies, producing a veritable who's who that resurrects reporters who were household names when regional papers from Halifax, Quebec City, Winnipeg, and across the West delivered national news with local angles.

While the focus of his book is on Ottawa's political journalism, similar stories could be written about the coverage of provincial legislatures. Lewis shows how practices in the reporting

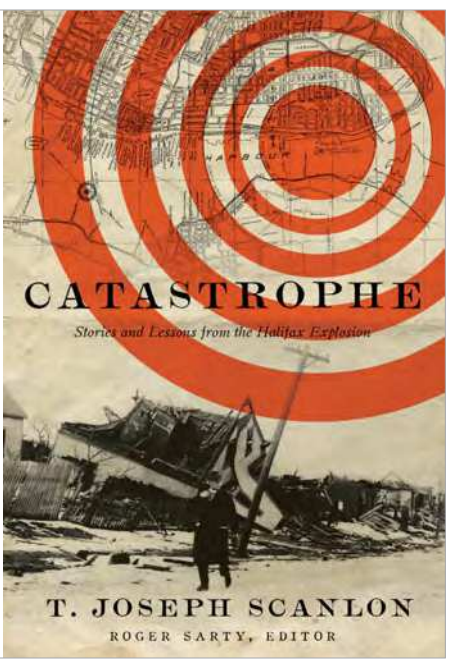
CATASTROPHE
STORIES AND LESSONS FROM THE HALIFAX EXPLOSION

T. JOSEPH SCANLON
ROGER SARTY, EDITOR

PAPER
400 PP.
978-1-77112-371-6
$39.99

Catastrophe weaves together compelling stories and potent lessons learned from the calamitous Halifax explosion—the worst non-natural disaster in North America before 9/11.

WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY PRESS
www.wlupress.wlu.ca



trade have changed greatly over the past 150 years and have been reflected in the behaviour of the press gallery. Previously, reporters were nearly all male and, he writes, engaged in the jovial energy of a "very clubby place." Practical jokes, the easy availability of beer, and constant deadline pressures were normal. The few women who joined the gallery were competent and tough — but only starting in 1967 were they invited to the raucous annual press gallery dinner.

Until recently, many Canadian journalists were veterans of the armed forces. They often voiced a strong sense of Canadian identity and independent-mindedness. One example was George Bain, from the *Globe and Mail*, who had been a pilot in Bomber Command during the Second World War. He was often at odds with newspaper management and was very critical of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau.

For much of Canada's first century, friendships between journalists and politicians were the norm. Their off-the-record conversations, sometimes well-lubricated, were a reciprocal source of information. They needed each other but were also wary. The atmosphere began to change after the infamous pipeline debate of 1956, and that change accelerated in the post-Watergate period, when "gotcha" and "adversarial" journalism became the rule.

Lewis becomes more personal when discussing recent changes to journalism and the press gallery that flow from the digital revolution and business pressures. He describes the scrums, the tweets, the twenty-four-seven cycle, and the "insatiable maw … of continuous blogs and online reports." The ethos of some journalists has also changed, with their well-honed celebrity status and salaries that match.

With *Power, Prime Ministers and the Press*, Lewis has not written a policy study with options for the future. Rather, he presents a well-informed narrative that traces the historical arc of Canadian political reporting and the press gallery. Lewis expresses his "lament" regarding current reporter-politician relationships that are "an endless loop of confrontational questions and evasive replies." In our modern world, which seems to be swamped in "click bait" and to be seething with outrage, he reminds us how thoughtful journalism has helped to shape our democratic culture and our national community.

Reviewed by **Victor Rabinovitch**, president emeritus of the Canadian Museum of Civilization (now the Canadian Museum of History) and a distinguished fellow at Queen's University's School of Policy Studies.

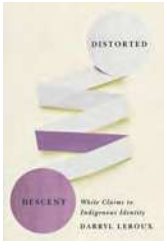
CHALLENGING ANCESTRIES

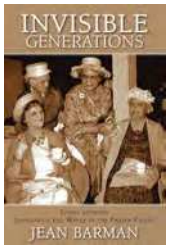
Distorted Descent: White Claims to Indigenous Identity

by Darryl Leroux
University of Manitoba Press,
293 pages, $27.95

Invisible Generations: Living Between Indigenous and White in the Fraser Valley

by Jean Barman
Caitlin Press, 176 pages, $24.95





Two recent books are both about mixed-race identity, but their similarity ends there. While Jean Barman's *Invisible Generations* is a gentle story about half-white, half-Indigenous pioneer families in British Columbia taking pride in their once-hidden identities, Darryl Leroux's *Distorted Descent* is a scathing critique of white people claiming "métis" status for personal gain.

Together, the books show how the value of having a part-Indigenous identity has changed over time. For Barman's families in British Columbia's Fraser Valley, being of "mixed blood" in the nineteenth and much of the twentieth century meant being excluded from jobs, marriages, political office, lands, social status, education, and other spaces reserved for white people. It made sense then to deny their Indigenous heritage.

In the twenty-first century, however, a new phenomenon has emerged: White people all over North America are proudly proclaiming part-Indigenous ancestry, often on the basis of family lore and questionable DNA tests. For instance, American Democratic Senator Elizabeth Warren had to walk back unsupported claims about being part-Cherokee. Leroux cites a CBC investigation in which a dog's DNA was sent for ancestral tracing. "It turned out that Snoopy, the man's chihuahua, had 20 percent Native American ancestry."

There is a long history of white people taking on an Indigenous identity to obtain spiritual or metaphysical transformation. However, the "race shifters" Leroux describes have more material goals. Some hope to obtain a Métis citizenship card, which allows access to education funding, hunting and fishing rights, and other benefits. Others use identity to oppose the rights of recognized Indigenous people.

Leroux, an associate professor in the Department of Social Justice and Community Studies at Saint Mary's University in Halifax, shines light on two groups in Quebec that have been using their newly acquired mixed-race identity to oppose Indigenous land claims (sometimes under the mistaken impression that land claims lead to the expropriation of private property) and to oppose hunting and fishing rights by recognized Indigenous nations. Members of these groups formerly identified as white but changed their tactics following a 2003 Supreme Court of Canada decision that supported the Métis identity of two northern Ontario hunters. The groups saw that "métis" status would give them more traction in their fight.

Leroux makes a distinction between legitimate western Métis (capitalized) and eastern "métis" (not capitalized and used within quotation marks). The latter, says Leroux,

almost always base their claim on a single Indigenous ancestor from the seventeenth century.

Contrary to popular belief, very few Indigenous women married Frenchmen in the colonial era. Remarkably, "the same three or four Indigenous women married prior to 1660 are the primary basis for almost all the claims to indigeneity on the [Quebec genealogical] forums," writes Leroux.

His research reveals some odd patterns: Some "Indigenous" female ancestors have turned out to be European; the same ancestor is sometimes described as Innu, sometimes as Abenaki, sometimes as Mi'kmaq, and sometimes otherwise; a suspicious number of these ancestor women are said to be the daughters of famous chiefs; and everyone wants to be descended from Métis leader Louis Riel, who had no grandchildren.

The author's position will no doubt rankle some of his fellow white French Canadians: "Our belief that we are the only legitimate victims of [British] colonialism continues to be a major stumbling block to building a meaningful social movement dedicated to combatting French descendant forms of racism and colonialism."

Distorted Descent is a brave and necessary work. Not everyone will digest Leroux's dense genealogical research, but readers may come to appreciate the harm the race-shifting movement has done to Indigenous people.

Invisible Generations is a carefully written book anchored in the author's friendship with Irene Kelleher (1901–2004), a mixed-race schoolteacher. Barman, a pre-eminent historian of British Columbia, got to know Kelleher in the 1990s. Through many interviews and extensive archival research, Barman pieced together a profile of Kelleher and her extended family, especially her parents, her grandparents, and some of their friends and acquaintances. These generations were part of the fur trade, the gold rush, and the settlement of the province.

In the early years, it was acceptable and not uncommon for newly arrived white men in British Columbia to partner with Indigenous women. Some, including the provincial politician Thomas Basil Humphreys, would later abandon their Indigenous spouses and marry white women as a way of moving up in the world. Mixed marriages were eventually discouraged.

"For Irene, as for her parents, the burden of mixed descent, of being a 'half-breed,' was ever-present," writes Barman. Blatant racism was the norm. Kelleher, for instance, never married because "nobody would have me." A newly arrived young female schoolteacher in remote communities in the 1920s would normally be the belle of the ball at local dances; but, said Kelleher, "they didn't ask me to dance. I was a half-breed, I didn't belong."

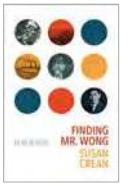
She and the others profiled in this book come across as determined, hard-working, resilient, resourceful, and dignified, despite the challenges of poverty, racism, and the reality of being treated as second-class citizens. In the end, Kelleher's family members emerge as well-regarded, moderately prosperous, and quietly proud of their mixed heritage.

Barman's book is a call to recognize the contributions of people who have largely been written out of the historical record. Says Barman: "While we cannot undo the past, we can learn from it and behave as best we can towards each other."

Reviewed by **Nelle Oosterom**, who lives in Winnipeg as a settler on Treaty One territory and on the homeland of the Métis people.

MORE BOOKS

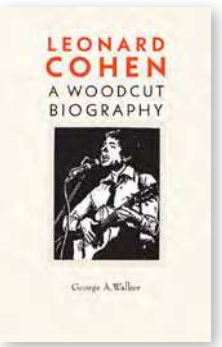
Finding Mr. Wong
by Susan Crean
Talonbooks, 272 pages, $19.95



On the surface, this enjoyable book recounts one woman's warm childhood memories of Wong Dong Wong, her Irish-Canadian grandparents' Chinese cook and housekeeper. But Susan Crean goes beyond her own recollections of a loving and beloved man to piece together his life outside the walls of Number 13, her grandparents' home in Toronto's tony Forest Hill neighbourhood.

Drawing on research she conducted in Toronto and Vancouver, including within both cities' Chinatowns, and in Wong's home village of Shui Doi, China, Crean imaginatively recreates the parts of his story that she can never fully know. Fortunately, she is well aware that the uncomplicated relationship she enjoyed with Wong was based on an imbalance of power — however congenial — between a Chinese head-tax payer and his Canadian employer.

Crean explores the discrimination Wong and other Chinese bachelors endured, placing it on a continuum of attitudes that deemed English Canadians superior to her Irish immigrant forebears and that directed casual anti-Semitism at her family's Jewish neighbours. Part homage, part mys-



SIGN UP BY DEC. 15 TO RECEIVE OUR *CANADA'S HISTORY NOW* E-NEWSLETTER

– including the books-focused *Reading Den* –

and be entered to win a **book prize & framed print!**

CanadasHistory.ca/Newsletter

tery, part memoir, *Finding Mr. Wong* is a loving look at a life that is no less important a part of our Canadian story for its previously having been rendered invisible. — *Nancy Payne*

Four Who Dared: Inspiring Stories of Canadian Airmen in the Second World War
by Kenneth B. Cothliff
Heritage House Publishing,
268 pages, $22.95

Joey Jacobson's War: A Jewish Canadian Airman in the Second World War
by Peter J. Usher
Wilfred Laurier University Press,
414 pages, $23.99

The four men profiled in Kenneth B. Cothliff's book *Four Who Dared* are far from household names. Their stories, however, are reminders of the shared experiences of the more than one million Canadians who fought during the Second World War.

Cothliff, an author and aviation enthusiast, delves into the lives of Reg Lane, Jim Moffat, Steve Puskas, and Bill Gracie. The Canadian airmen didn't know each other, but their lives are connected through their wartime experiences — each of them flew with the RCAF in Bomber Command.

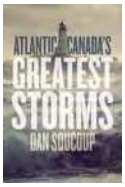
The book is split into four parts, with each section exploring the life of one combatant — including his background and the path that led him to war. Cothliff also looks at the training programs that prepared these men for conflict.

Detailed descriptions, in many cases drawn from the airmen's own diaries or writings, paint a picture of the dangers and the fear that came with combat. Of the four profiled airmen, only three returned home after the war. Bill Gracie was killed in battle.

In *Joey Jacobson's War*, Peter J. Usher uses diary and notebook entries, as well as letters sent to friends and family members, to tell the story of young Jewish-Canadian airman Joey Jacobson. He was sent to serve in Britain's Royal Air Force as it began a bombing campaign against Germany during the same war.

Usher's book often reads like a first-person account, and it shows how family relationships endured during challenging times. However, like Gracie's story, Jacobson's ends with his death in combat. — *Dave Baxter*

Atlantic Canada's Greatest Storms
by Dan Soucoup
Nimbus Publishing, 231 pages, $21.95



A major January 2020 snowstorm produced high winds, power outages, and up to ninety-three centimetres of snow in parts of eastern Newfoundland. It was a reminder of the potential for volatile weather along the country's east coast.

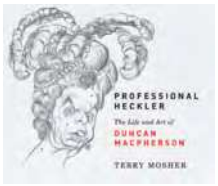
In *Atlantic Canada's Greatest Storms*, Dartmouth, Nova Scotia-based author Dan Soucoup chronicles the impacts of previous natural disasters, which, in addition to blizzards, included hurricanes, tornadoes, floods, and tsunamis. For instance, he takes readers back to the year 1745 and the Grand Armada Tragedy. When an expedition sent from France to recapture Nova Scotia from the British faced intense squalls while crossing the Atlantic, the resulting hardship and illness were so severe that it was France's final attempt to retake the area.

Soucoup also recounts the 1929 earthquake on the Grand Banks, a series of submerged plateaus southeast of Newfoundland. The quake produced an underwater landslide and a rare Atlantic tsunami that struck the south coast of Newfoundland, killing twenty-eight people and leaving many homeless on the Burin Peninsula.

During the Great Depression, the financial struggles were compounded in Atlantic Canada by a series of tropical storms that ravaged the region in the 1930s. Wind speeds up to 185 kilometres per hour, torrential rains, and flooding produced death and destruction in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland.

Photographs, notes, and a timeline help Soucoup's readers understand both the history of the region and the fury of its storms. — *Beverley Tallon*

Professional Heckler: The Life and Art of Duncan Macpherson
by Terry Mosher
McGill-Queen's University Press,
480 pages, $49.95



I'll let you in on a secret, one that I learned by virtue of working as a journalist in numerous newsrooms across the country: Reporters — all of them, including me — are secretly jealous of editorial cartoonists. Why? Because cartoonists, via their pencils and pens, are free to express what the rest of us are really thinking. We reporters were taught to strive for "objectivity." But editorial cartoonists? Their mandate is to skewer the most powerful people in society, from pompous politicians to grasping tycoons and tinpot tyrants. That's why Terry Mosher's new book is so aptly titled.

Professional Heckler recalls the story of one of Canada's top editorial cartoonists of the twentieth century. Duncan Macpherson, who died in 1993, began his career as an illustrator for the *Montreal Standard* and *Weekend* magazine before moving on to *Maclean's* and, finally, the *Toronto Star*.

The author, himself a giant of Canadian editorial cartooning, first met Macpherson in 1971 when both

B R I T I S H C O L U M B I A
G O L D C O U N T R Y
FRASER RIVER
FRASER R.
NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN
VANCOUVER
WASHINGTON TERRITORY
UNITED STATES
VICTORIA
THE NEW EL DORADO.
A COMPLETE VIEW OF THE NEWLY DISCOVERED GOLD FIELDS IN BRITISH NORTH AMERICA. WITH VANCOUVER ISLAND AND THE WHOLE OF THE SEA-BORD FROM CAPE FLATTERY TO PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND.

THE NEW EL DORADO "Before gold, geographical knowledge of British Columbia was sparse and spotty; after it, roads were built, population levels surged, and suddenly the world knew of British Columbia's existence," writes Derek Hayes in the paperback edition of *British Columbia: A New Historical Atlas* (Douglas & McIntyre, 368 pages, $44.95). This remarkable illustration of West Coast "gold country" – one of more than nine hundred maps in the geographer's award-winning atlas – was printed in Britain in September 1858 by Read and Company to highlight the Fraser River gold rush. While recognizing that this map "is woefully inaccurate in many details," Hayes nonetheless calls it "one of the finest maps ever to depict British Columbia."

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA E002140138. IMAGE EXCERPTED WITH PERMISSION FROM THE PUBLISHER.

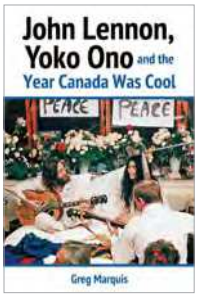
were doing courtroom sketches during the Front de Libération du Québec trials. That chance encounter led to after-court drinks — and a promise to chat again in the future.

At the time, Macpherson, known as "Dunc," was well-established, while Mosher, a.k.a. Aislin, was the young up-and-comer. Eventually, Mosher writes, Macpherson became his mentor, inspiring and encouraging Aislin to loftier heights.

Professional Heckler is a fascinating book, written in a conversational style that is quite familiar to me (and likely to many other journalists as well). It reminds me of the banter heard after a deadline has been met and the presses are rolling, when "deskers," "journos," and "photogs" finally leave their desks and wander down to the local watering hole to chat about life, and deadlines, and the next day's front-page news.

Richly illustrated with photos of Macpherson plus many of his editorial cartoons, *Professional Heckler* doesn't shy away from darker elements of his story. Like many members of the old-school-journalist generation, the bottle was both a temptation and an inspiration for Dunc. "I can't pretend that it was always a pleasure to be with Duncan," Mosher writes. "When he was drinking he could be heavy handed, arrogant and a troublemaker. He freely acknowledged these faults, but insisted I was worse. I'm in no position to judge."

Thanks to Mosher's book, we are now well-positioned to reacquaint ourselves with Macpherson's art, as well as with the joy, wit, and skill with which he lampooned many of Canada's most prominent people. — *M.C. Reid*



JOHN LENNON, YOKO ONO AND THE YEAR CANADA WAS COOL

by Greg Marquis

In 1969 John Lennon and Yoko Ono staged their iconic bed-in for peace at an upscale Montreal hotel, culminating with the recording of anti-war anthem "Give Peace a Chance." Historian Greg Marquis uses the couple's visit to offer a unique portrayal of Canadian society in the late sixties. An illuminating and entertaining read for anyone interested in this fascinating moment in Canadian history.

$22.95. PAPERBACK. 272 PGS
27 B&W PHOTOGRAPHS
PUBLISHED OCTOBER 2020
ISBN 9781459415416 (PRINT)
ISBN 9781459415423 (EBOOK)
JAMES LORIMER & COMPANY LTD.

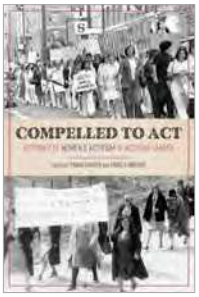
GO DO SOME GREAT THING

The Black Pioneers of British Columbia, 3rd edition

by Crawford Kilian, with a foreword by Dr. Adam Rudder

Updated with a new foreword by Dr. Adam Rudder, the third edition of this under-told story describes the hardships and triumphs of B.C.'s first Black citizens and their legacy in the province today. Partial sales proceeds from each copy sold will be donated to the Hogan's Alley Society. Copies are available from Black Bond Books and Book Warehouse – www.bookwarehouse.ca

$26.95. PAPERBACK. 272 PGS
HISTORY, 6 X 9 INCHES, 24 B&W PHOTOS
PUBLISHED NOVEMBER 2020
ISBN 978-1-55017-883-8
HARBOUR PUBLISHING



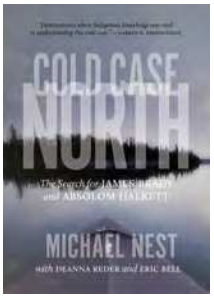
COMPELLED TO ACT

Histories of Women's Activism in Western Canada

edited by Sarah Carter and Nanci Langford

Compelled to Act showcases fresh historical perspectives on the diversity of women's contributions to social and political change in prairie Canada in the 20th century. It reminds us of the myriad ways women have challenged and confronted injustices and inequalities.

$31.95. PAPERBACK. 344 PGS
PUBLISHED SEPTEMBER 2020
ISBN 978-0-88755-8719
UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA PRESS



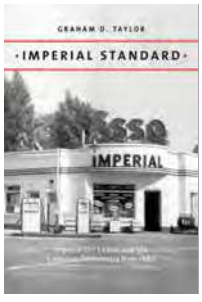
COLD CASE NORTH

The Search for James Brady and Absolom Halkett

by Michael Nest, with Deanna Reder and Eric Bell

In 1967, Indigenous leaders James Brady and Absolom Halkett mysteriously disappeared from their campsite in Saskatchewan, sparking rumours of secret mining interests, political intrigue, and murder. *Cold Case North* is the story of how a small team, with the help of the Indigenous community, exposed police failure, discovered new clues and testimony, and gathered the pieces of this missing-persons puzzle.

$24.95. PAPERBACK. 272 PGS
5 X 7 INCHES
ISBN 978-0889777491
UNIVERSITY OF REGINA PRESS



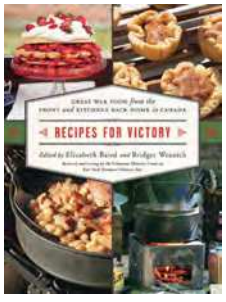
IMPERIAL STANDARD

Imperial Oil, Exxon, and the Canadian Oil Industry from 1880

by Graham D. Taylor

Winner of the Petroleum History Society Book of the Year, this is the authoritative history of Imperial Oil. For over 130 years, Imperial Oil dominated Canada's oil industry while its partnership with Exxon-Mobil made it one of Canada's largest foreign-controlled multinationals. Graham D. Taylor provides unprecedented insight into one of Canada's most influential oil companies and sheds light on the inner workings of the industry itself.

$39.99 CAD / $39.99 USD. PAPERBACK.
380 PGS, 43 ILLUSTRATIONS
ISBN 978-1-77385-035-1
UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY PRESS



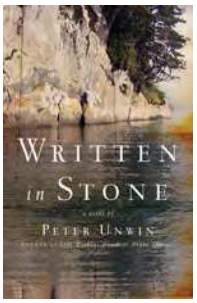
RECIPES FOR VICTORY

Great War Food from the Front and Kitchens Back Home in Canada

edited by Elizabeth Baird & Bridget Wranich

Recipes for Victory shows how we fed the troops and ourselves during the Great War. It combines history and cooking as it presents domestic and military recipes (and their modern-day equivalents) used during the Great War – in the trenches, behind the lines, and on the home front.

$24.95. PAPERBACK. 216 PGS
6 X 8 INCHES
ISBN 9781770503236
WHITECAP BOOKS



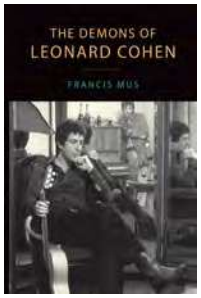
WRITTEN IN STONE

A Novel

by Peter Unwin

Paul Prescot's desire to catalogue and comprehend the Aboriginal rock paintings of the Canadian Shield draws him and his wife deeper into a history that, while foreign to them both, seems to offer a meaningful alternative to a world that has gone wrong.

$24.95. PAPERBACK. 248 PGS
PUBLISHED OCTOBER 2020
ISBN 9781770866003
CORMORANT BOOKS INC.



THE DEMONS OF LEONARD COHEN

by Francis Mus

How are we to understand Leonard Cohen's plea? Who speaks to whom in this oeuvre spanning six decades? In search of an answer to this question this study considers the different guises or "demons" that the Canadian singer-songwriter adopts. The wide international circulation of Cohen's work has resulted in a partial severing with the context of its creation.

$39.95. PAPERBACK. 208 PGS
PUBLISHED AUGUST 25, 2020
ISBN 9780776631202
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA PRESS

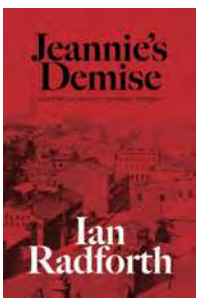
KATE WAKE

A Novel

by Mariianne Mays Wiebe

A tender and deeply engaging novel from a distinctive new voice. Katie fights to reclaim her life from the grip of a psychological crisis, tracing back a stumbled-upon and uncertain family history at an abandoned prairie mental asylum. As she seeks to rehabilitate the present by understanding the past, her fate becomes intertwined with that of her great-grandmother Kate Wake, an enigmatic, independent-minded artist with her own remarkable story.

$21.95. PAPERBACK. 284 PGS
PUBLISHED DECEMBER 2019
ISBN 978-1-927599-46-4
DC BOOKS



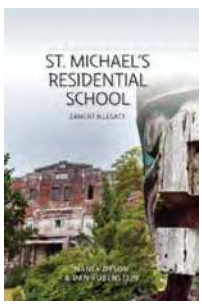
JEANNIE'S DEMISE

Abortion on Trial in Victorian Toronto

by Ian Radforth

August 1, 1875, Toronto: The body of a young woman is discovered in a pine box, half-buried in a ditch along Bloor Street. So begins a real-life Victorian melodrama that played out in the bustling streets and courtrooms of "Toronto the Good." Historian Ian Radforth's intensive research grounds the tragedy of Jeannie's demise in sharp historical analysis, presenting more than a dozen case studies of abortion trials in Victorian-era Canada.

$29.95. PAPERBACK. 175 PGS
PUBLISHED OCTOBER 2020
21 B&W PHOTOGRAPHS
ISBN 978-1-771-13513-9
BETWEEN THE LINES



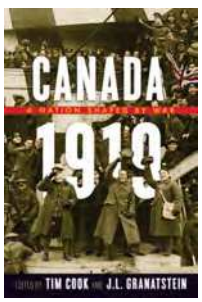
ST. MICHAEL'S RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL

Lament & Legacy

by Nancy Dyson & Dan Rubenstein

One of the very few accounts of life in a residential school by caregivers who witness the shocking discipline, poor food and harsh punishment for the children's use of their native language.

$24.95. PAPERBACK. 200 PGS
6 X 9 INCHES, 30 B&W PHOTOGRAPHS
ISBN 978-1-55380-623-3 (PRINT)
ISBN 978-1-55380-624-2 (EBOOK)
RONSDALE PRESS



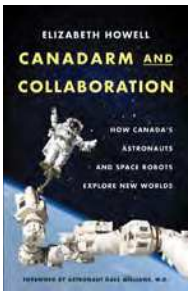
CANADA 1919

A Nation Shaped by War

edited by Tim Cook and J.L. Granatstein

With compelling insight, *Canada 1919* examines the year following the Great War – a war that was, for Canada, completely unexpected in its magnitude. In the midst of relief that the killing had ended, economic and political tensions were fraught as the survivors attempted to right the country and chart a path into the future.

$34.95. HARDCOVER. 338 PGS
PUBLISHED JUNE 2020
ISBN 9780774864077
UBC PRESS



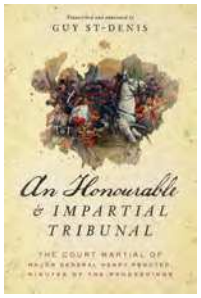
CANADARM AND COLLABORATION

How Canada's Astronauts and Space Robots Explore New Worlds

by Elizabeth Howell

Filled with exclusive interviews with key Canadian astronauts, including Chris Hadfield and Marc Garneau, *Canadarm and Collaboration* tells the tale of Canada's involvement in international space exploration from the 1960s to the present day.

$22.95. PAPERBACK. 240 PGS
PUBLISHED OCTOBER 20, 2020
ISBN 9781770414426
ECW PRESS



AN HONOURABLE AND IMPARTIAL TRIBUNAL

The Court Martial of Major General Henry Procter, Minutes of the Proceedings

transcribed and annotated by Guy St-Denis

After Major General Henry Procter abandoned his army and Indigenous allies during the Battle of Moravian-town, the disgraced British commander demanded a court martial, hoping to vindicate his retreat. Transcribed and annotated here for the first time, the trial's minutes offer a wealth of historical detail about the War of 1812 and British, Canadian, and American history during the early nineteenth century.

$39.99. PAPERBACK. 454 PGS
ISBN 9781771993197
HISTORY / PRE-CONFEDERATION HISTORY
ATHABASCA UNIVERSITY PRESS

MÉGANTIC

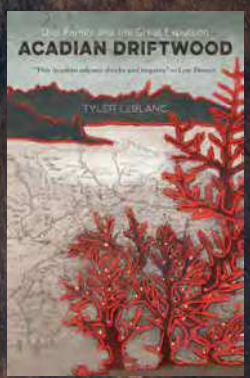
by Anne-Marie Saint-Cerny

translated by W. Donald Wilson

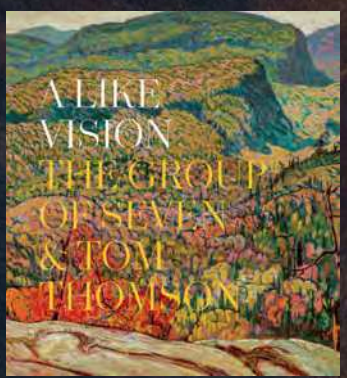
When a driverless, out-of-control train carrying highly volatile crude oil decimated the downtown area of the picturesque town of Lac-Mégantic, Quebec, it killed forty-seven people and lead to the suicides of several others. In revealing how the tragedy was not an accident, but rather was knowingly caused by powerful people and institutions, *Mégantic* offers a scathing critique whose ultimate goal is to prevent the preventable.

$24.95. PAPERBACK. 288 PGS
PUBLISHED FALL 2020
ISBN 9781772012590
TALONBOOKS

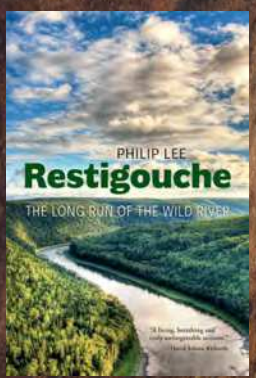
Explore the Landscape of Canadian History



Piecing together his family history through archival documents, LeBlanc presents a unique and deeply researched biographical history of the Acadian Expulsion.



The definitive book on the Group of Seven and Tom Thomson with over 300 full-colour images, celebrating the centenary of the Group's first exhibition.



Part canoe travelogue, part investigative journalism, Philip Lee explores the history and future of conservation on the world-renowned Restigouche salmon river.

Available in bookstores now.

GOOSE LANE

gooselane.com

Books That Connect Us to the Rest of the World

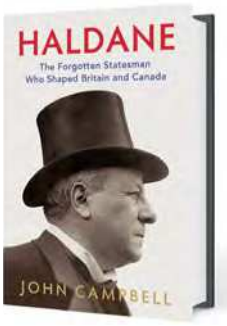
Gifts That Connect Us to Each Other

Whom Fortune Favours
The Bank of Montreal and the Rise of North American Finance

LAURENCE B. MUSSIO

Cloth $90.00, Volume 1: 384pp Volume 2: 368pp
100 photos, 38 tables
Also available in French

The definitive history of one of North America's most enduring banks.



Haldane
The Forgotten Statesman Who Shaped Britain and Canada

JOHN CAMPBELL

Cloth $49.95, 616 pp

A new biography of a towering figure in twentieth-century British and Canadian politics, revealing his relevance for our contemporary crises

I Can Only Paint
The Story of Battlefield Artist Mary Riter Hamilton

IRENE GAMMEL

Cloth $49.95, 400pp, 160 images, full colour

Uncovering the life of Mary Riter Hamilton and the lasting significance of the art she created on the battlefield.

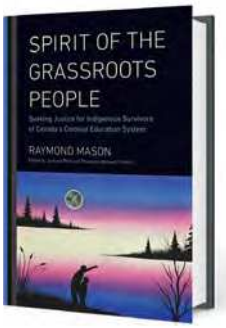
Professional Heckler
The Life and Art of Duncan Macpherson

TERRY MOSHER

FOREWORD BY JOHN HONDERICH

Paper $49.95, 480 pp, 460 images, full colour

A candid biography of one of the most influential editorial cartoonists in recent Canadian history.



Spirit of the Grassroots People
Seeking Justice for Indigenous Survivors of Canada's Colonial Education System

RAYMOND MASON

EDITED BY JACKSON PIND AND THEODORE MICHAEL CHRISTOU

Cloth $24.95, 200pp

A compelling memoir by a survivor of the Indian residential and day school system who fought for justice on behalf of Indigenous people.

McGill-Queen's University Press | mqup.ca

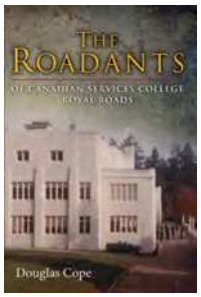
@McGillQueensUP

THE PS ROYAL WILLIAM OF QUEBEC

The First True Transatlantic Steamer
by Eileen Reid Marcil

World trade was revolutionized in the 19th century when ships went from sail to steam. The PS *Royal William* of Quebec steamed from Pictou, Nova Scotia, to Portsmouth, England, in 1833, the first vessel to span the Atlantic under steam. Other ships and countries challenged that claim, whence the "Royal William controversy." Eileen Reid Marcil lays the controversy to rest.

$29.95. PAPERBACK. 136 PGS
50+ COLOUR & B&W PHOTOS, MAPS; INDEX
ISBN 978-1-77186-229-5
PUBLISHED NOVEMBER 15, 2020
BARAKA BOOKS

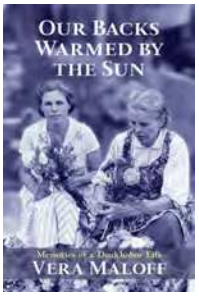


THE ROADANTS

of Canadian Services College Royal Roads
by Douglas Cope

A novel about the cadets at CSC Royal Roads, the toughest of Canada's three military colleges in the 1960s, *The Roadants* conveys the shock for new boys at being thrust into a rigid system that gave them virtually no privacy and harassed them almost 24 hours a day. Incredible as some of the stories may seem, all of the anecdotes in this book are fundamentally true.

$34.95. PAPERBACK. 240 PGS
ISBN 978-1-927481-31-8
BAICO PUBLISHING CONSULTANTS INC.



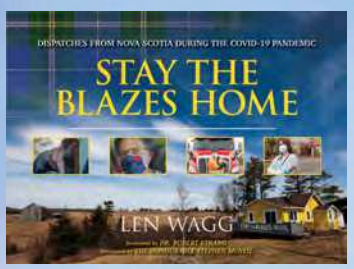
OUR BACKS WARMED BY THE SUN

Memories of a Doukhobor Life
by Vera Maloff

For many, the Doukhobor story is a sensational one: arson, nudity and civil disobedience once made headlines. But it isn't the whole story. *Our Backs Warmed by the Sun: Memories of a Doukhobor Life* is an intricately woven, richly textured memoir of a family's determination to live in peace and community in the face of controversy and unrest.

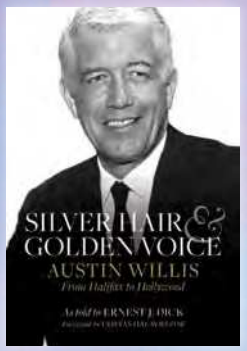
$24.95. PAPERBACK. 264 PGS
PUBLISHED OCTOBER 24, 2020
ISBN 9781773860398
CAITLIN PRESS

Great Gifts from the East Coast



STAY THE BLAZES HOME
DISPATCHES FROM NOVA SCOTIA DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC
By Len Wagg
978-1-77108-943-2
$19.95 | Community & Culture

BECAUSE WE LOVE, WE CRY
By Sheree Fitch
978-1-77108-946-3
$17.95 | Giftbook/Poetry

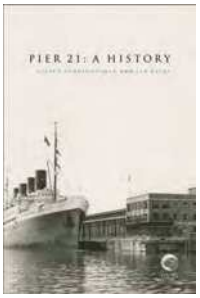


SILVER HAIR AND GOLDEN VOICE
AUSTIN WILLIS FROM HALIFAX TO HOLLYWOOD
As told to Ernest J. Dick
978-1-77108-852-7
$19.95 | Biography

ALL 'BOUT CANADA
A COMPENDIUM OF CANADIANA
By Elizabeth F. Hill
Art by Alex MacAskill
978-1-77108-860-2
$19.95 | History

NIMBUS PUBLISHING LTD.
NIMBUS.CA

@nimbuspub



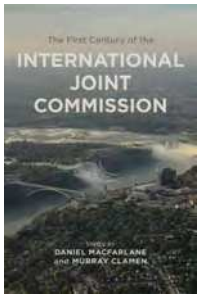
PIER 21

A History

by Steven Schwinghamer and Jan Raska

Since 1998, researchers at the Pier 21 Interpretive Centre and now the Canadian Museum of Immigration have been conducting interviews, reviewing archival materials, gathering written stories, and acquiring photographs, documents, and other objects reflecting the history of Pier 21. This book builds upon the resulting collection to present a history of this important Canadian ocean immigration facility.

$27.95. PAPERBACK. 277 PGS
PUBLISHED AUGUST 26, 2020
ISBN 9780776631363
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA PRESS

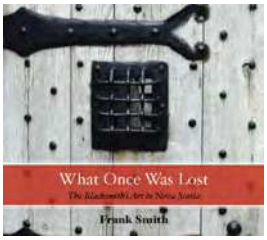


THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION

edited by Daniel Macfarlane and Murray Clamen

The International Joint Commission oversees and protects the shared waters of Canada and the United States. Created in 1909 it is one of the world's oldest international environmental bodies. Detailed, informative, and fascinating, this collection separates myth from reality to uncover the historical evolution of the International Joint Commission.

$42.99 CAD / $42.99 USD. PAPERBACK.
488 PGS, 47 ILLUSTRATIONS
ISBN 978-1-77385-107-5
UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY PRESS



WHAT ONCE WAS LOST

The Blacksmith's Art in Nova Scotia

by Frank Smith

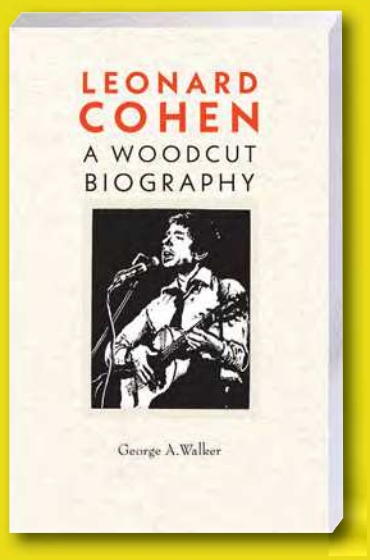
Author Frank Smith exposes the rich history of blacksmithing in Nova Scotia, explores the subsequent emerging art form, and provides a resource of practising artisans' profiles.

$14.95. PAPERBACK. 110 PGS
9 X 8 INCHES, BLACK & WHITE
ISBN 978-1-989347-05-8
EBOOK: ISBN 978-1-989347-06-5
SSP PUBLICATIONS
WWW.SSPUB.CA

Simon Forty & Leo Marriott

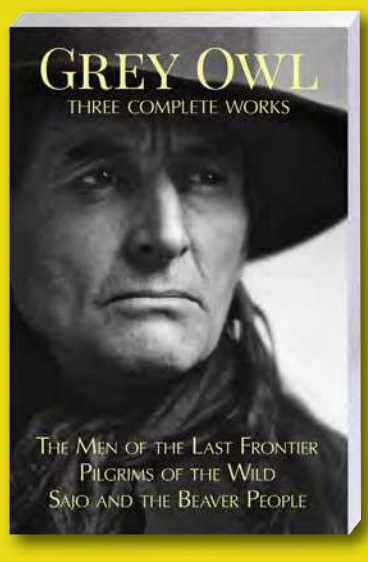
A pictorial history of the decisive role played by Canada in the final year of WWII. Photos and maps.
192 pages in colour · hardcover · $35

George A. Walker



82 wood engravings depicting the life and career of the great poet and songwriter.
200 pages · paperback · $19.95

Grey Owl



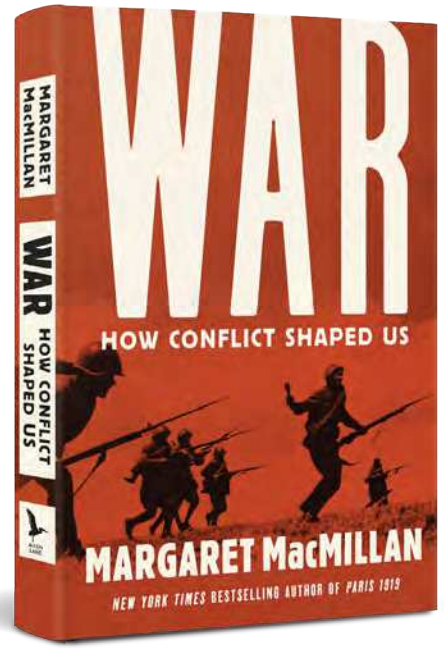
Three long works by the early conservationist. Photos.
560 pages · paperback · $19.95

AT BOOKSTORES AND ONLINE

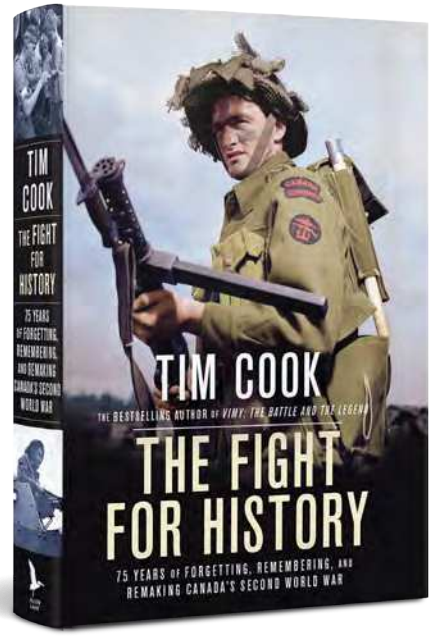
Published by FIREFLY BOOKS

www.fireflybooks.com

TWO BESTSELLING BOOKS, ONE INCREDIBLE GIFT



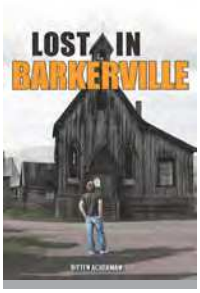
Thoughtful and brilliant insights into the very nature of war–from the ancient Greeks to modern times–from world-renowned historian MARGARET MACMILLAN.



A masterful telling of how World War Two has been remembered, forgotten, and remade by Canada over seventy-five years, by Canada's top military historian, TIM COOK.

AVAILABLE NOW AT YOUR LOCAL BOOKSTORE

Penguin Random House
ALLEN LANE CANADA

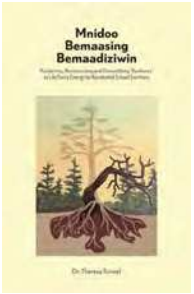


LOST IN BARKERVILLE

by Bitten Acherman

Zach, Kyle and their eccentric teacher Miss Reid are transported back in time to 1866 at the height of the Cariboo gold rush in Barkerville, where they have to save their good friend Theo from hanging at the hands of Judge Matthew Begbie. A crossover novel.

$12.95. PAPERBACK. 438 PGS
5 1/4 X 7 5/8 INCHES
ISBN 978-1-55380-611-0 (PRINT)
ISBN 978-1-55380-612-7 (EBOOK)
RONSDALE PRESS



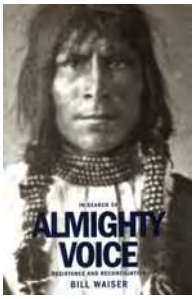
MNIDOO BEMAASING BEMAADIZIWIN

Reclaiming, Reconnecting, and Demystifying Resiliency as Life Force Energy for Residential School Survivors

by Theresa Turmel

Mnidoo Bemaasing Bemaadiziwin brings forward Indigenous thought, history, and acts of resistance as viewed through survivors of residential school who, through certain aspects of their young lives, were able to persevere with resiliency and share their life experiences, teaching us about them and their understanding of their own resiliency.

$24.00 USD / CAD. 216 PGS
PUBLISHED JUNE 2020
ISBN 9781927886359
ARP BOOKS



IN SEARCH OF ALMIGHTY VOICE

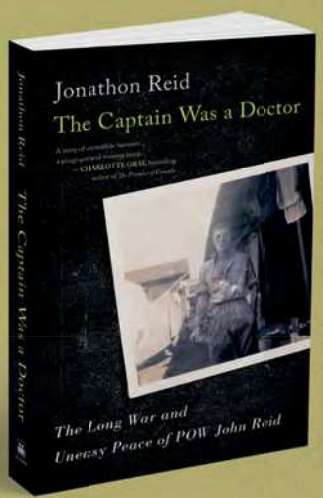
Resistance and Reconciliation

by Bill Waiser

Almighty Voice has been maligned, misunderstood, romanticized, celebrated and invented. Indeed, there have been many Almighty Voices over the years. What these stories have in common is that the Willow Cree man mattered. Understanding why he mattered has a direct bearing on reconciliation efforts today.

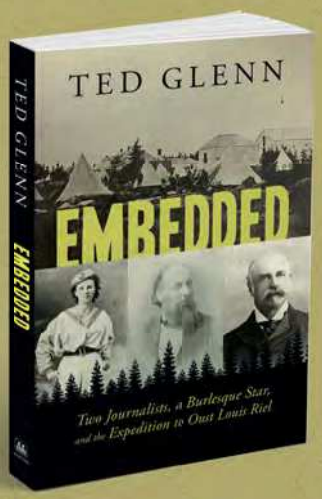
$24.95. PAPERBACK. 288 PGS
5.5 X 8.5 INCHES
ISBN 9781771770019
FIFTH HOUSE

New Canadian History



A POW from the Second World War returns a hero — and a very different man.

"A moving story by a son attempting to understand how his father endured the war, and how he left part of himself behind in the prison camps." — TIM COOK

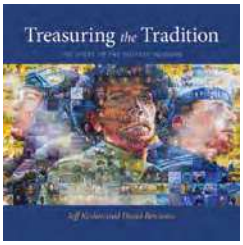


The remarkable story of two reporters and one extraordinary woman as they journeyed to Red River with Colonel Garnet Wolseley and his expeditionary force.

"Brings a largely forgotten tale to life in a fine and exuberant style." — J.L. GRANATSTEIN

@dundurnpress • dundurn.com
DUNDURN

CANADA'S HISTORY BOOK & GIFT GUIDE 2020



TREASURING THE TRADITION

The Story of The Military Museums

by David Bercuson and Jeff Keshen

The Military Museums in Calgary, Alberta, is Western Canada's only tri-service museum and military education centre. It is dedicated to preserving the memories and traditions of the countless Canadians who proudly served their country through war and conflict. Discover how The Military Museums came to be in this story of perseverance, cooperation, and community.

$29.99 CAD / $29.99 USD
PAPERBACK. 138 PGS
ISBN 978-1-77385-058-0
UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY PRESS

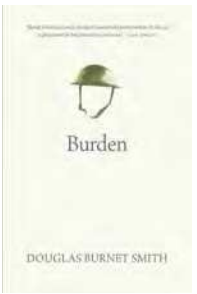
ON THE CUSP OF CONTACT

Gender, Space and Race in the Colonization of British Columbia

essays by Jean Barman, edited by Margery Fee

Working to recognize past actors that have been underrepresented in mainstream histories, Barman's focus is B.C. on "the cusp of contact." The sixteen essays in this collection piece together stories of individuals and groups disadvantaged in white settler society because of their gender, race, and social class. Copies are available from Black Bond Books and Book Warehouse – www.bookwarehouse.ca

$34.95. PAPERBACK. 496 PGS
HISTORY, 6 X 9 INCHES, 30 B&W PHOTOS
PUBLISHED MARCH 2020
ISBN 978-1-55017-896-8
HARBOUR PUBLISHING

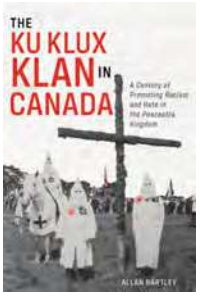


BURDEN

by Douglas Burnet Smith

A collection of poems that tell the story of a British soldier during the First World War who was shot for desertion but was retrospectively understood to have suffered from PTSD. *Burden* is a reminder of the misconceptions around PTSD and the complex injustices of wartime.

$19.95. PAPERBACK. 72 PGS
5.5 X 8.5 INCHES
ISBN 9780889777729
UNIVERSITY OF REGINA PRESS



THE KU KLUX KLAN IN CANADA

A Century of Promoting Racism and Hate in the Peaceable Kingdom

by Allan Bartley

Allan Bartley traces the history of the Ku Klux Klan in Canada through the turbulent years of the 1920s and '30s to their small but violent resurgence in the 1980s. *The Ku Klux Klan in Canada* tells the little-known story of how Canadians adopted the Klan's image and ideology to express the racism that has played so large a role in Canadian society for the past hundred years – right up to the present.

$24.95. PAPERBACK. 320 PGS
B&W PHOTOGRAPHS
PUBLISHED OCTOBER 2020
ISBN 9781459506138 (PRINT)
ISBN 9781459506145 (EBOOK)
FORMAC PUBLISHING COMPANY LTD.

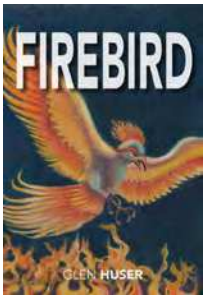
LEO TOLSTOY AND THE CANADIAN DOUKHOBORS

A Study in Historic Relationships. Expanded and Revised Edition.

by Andrew Donskov

Donskov's expanded study presents an outline of Doukhobor history and beliefs, their harmony with Tolstoy's lifelong aim of "unity of people," and the portrayal of Doukhobors in Tolstoy's writings. This edition features Tolstoy's complete correspondence with Doukhobor leader Pëtr Vasil'evich Verigin. Three guest essays by prominent Canadian Doukhobors are also included.

$39.95. PAPERBACK. 520 PGS
PUBLISHED NOVEMBER 19, 2019
ISBN 9780776628509
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA PRESS

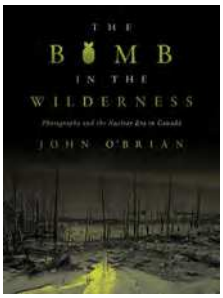


FIREBIRD

by Glen Huser

A crossover novel about a Ukrainian boy during the First World War who learns that his brother has been sent to an internment camp for enemy aliens. Will he save his brother from the camp's deadly conditions?

$12.95. PAPERBACK. 280 PGS
5 1/4 X 7 5/8 INCHES
ISBN 978-1-55380-587-8 (PRINT)
ISBN 978-1-55380-588-5 (EBOOK)
RONSDALE PRESS



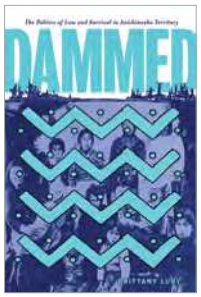
THE BOMB IN THE WILDERNESS

Photography and the Nuclear Era in Canada

by John O'Brian

Photographs provide a link between the nuclear past and present, and they play a significant role in shaping the public's perception of nuclear events. *The Bomb in the Wilderness* contends that photography is one of the principal ways, if not *the* primary way, that Canadians have represented, interpreted, and remembered nuclear activities since 1945.

$32.95. PAPERBACK. 244 PGS
124 PHOTOGRAPHS
PUBLISHED OCTOBER 2020
ISBN 9780774863889
UBC PRESS



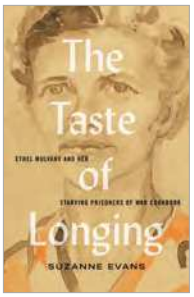
DAMMED

The Politics of Loss and Survival in Anishinaabe Territory

by Brittany Luby

Dammed explores Canada's hydroelectric boom in the Lake of the Woods area. Luby weaves text, testimony, and experience together, grounding this historical work in the territory of her paternal ancestors, lands she calls home.

$27.95. PAPERBACK. 256 PGS
PUBLISHED SEPTEMBER 2020
ISBN 978-0-88755-8740
UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA PRESS



THE TASTE OF LONGING

Ethel Mulvany and her Starving Prisoners of War Cookbook

by Suzanne Evans

Ethel Mulvany is starving in Singapore's infamous Changi Prison, along with hundreds of other women jailed there as POWs during WWII. She beats back pangs of hunger by writing down recipes filled with cream, chocolate, butter, ripe fruit – the unattainable ingredients of peacetime, of home, of memory. This novelistic, immersive biography is a testament to the often-overlooked strength of women in wartime.

$28.95. PAPERBACK. 335 PGS
PUBLISHED SEPTEMBER 2020
23 B&W PHOTOGRAPHS
ISBN 978-1-771-13489-7
BETWEEN THE LINES

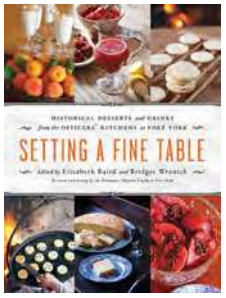
"LIVING LIGHTLY ON THE EARTH"

Building an Ark for Prince Edward Island, 1974–76

by Steven Mannell

Built in 1976 by Solsearch Architects and the New Alchemy Institute, the Ark bioshelter integrated ecological design features to provide a self-reliant life for a family and a model of sustainable living for the world. Illustrated with dozens of original drawings and period photographs, the book traces the history, context, research, and construction of this still-relevant experiment.

$34.95. SOFTCOVER. 116 PGS
ILLUSTRATIONS
ISBN 9780929112695
DALHOUSIE ARCHITECTURAL PRESS



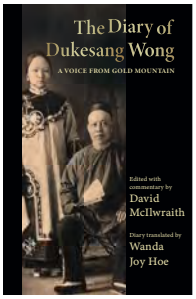
SETTING A FINE TABLE

Historical Desserts and Drinks from the Officers' Kitchens at Fort York

by Elizabeth Baird and Bridget Wranich

Setting a Fine Table contains 32 recipes for desserts and drinks from cookbooks that are hundreds of years old.

$19.95. PAPERBACK. 144 PGS
6 X 8 INCHES
ISBN 9781770501942
WHITECAP BOOKS



THE DIARY OF DUKESANG WONG

A Voice from Gold Mountain

by Dukesang Wong

edited by David McIlwraith, translated by Wanda Joy Hoe

Dukesang Wong's remarkable diary tells of the appalling conditions while constructing the treacherous British Columbia section of the Canadian Pacific Railway. It places this part of Canadian history into context as Wong gradually, painfully establishes a new life in a new land – moving from his early years in an unstable China, to his decision to emigrate to "the Land of the Gold Mountains," his becoming a tailor in New Westminster, B.C., and the joys of family life.

$18.95. PAPERBACK. 144 PGS
PUBLISHED FALL 2020
ISBN 9781772012583
TALONBOOKS

The fishing vessel *Istra* is part of the fleet at anchor in Steveston, B.C.

A resilient community by the sea

Steveston, B.C., and its many Japanese-Canadian residents have survived the ups and downs of the fishing industry and other setbacks. *by Hans Tammemagi*

I'm immersed in a jumble of smiling tourists at Fisherman's Wharf, with the proprietors of fishing boats hawking every stripe of seafood. As I've learned, few places retain memories of the past as well as Steveston, B.C., a suburb of Richmond south of Vancouver where the rich Fraser River delta meets the Pacific Ocean. Although life here has long been dominated by fishing, the community's spirit and success have been determined largely by its Japanese-Canadian population.

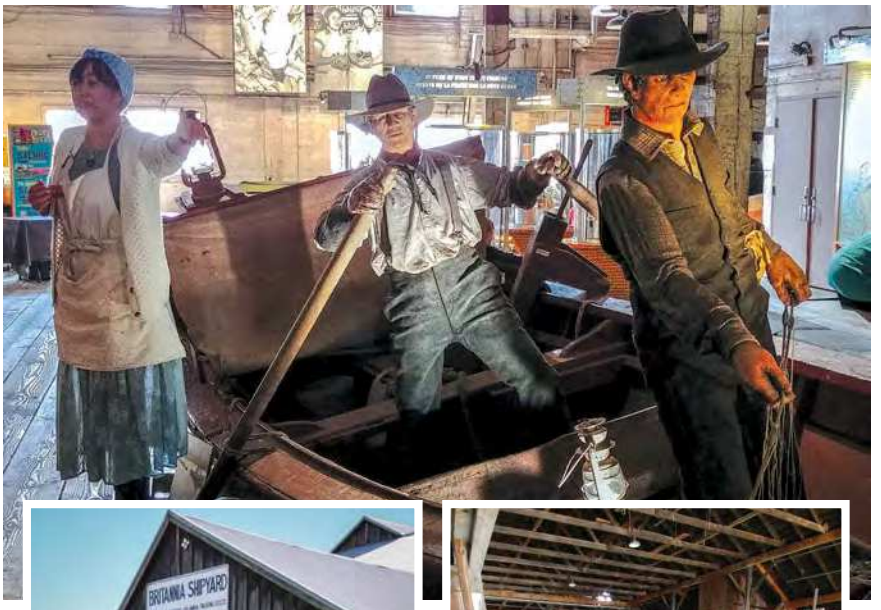
The Musqueam First Nation originally occupied the Steveston area, where they followed the life cycle of salmon. As Europeans arrived, the exploitation of this natural resource grew, and in the late 1800s the Fraser provided the richest salmon catches anywhere.

To learn more, I cycle along the dyke path to Harold Steves' farm, where I speak with the long-time Richmond city councillor. "This farm once belonged to my great-grandfather Manoah Steves, the first white settler in Richmond in 1877, after whom Steveston is named," Harold said. "The houses were on stilts because the dyke wasn't built until 1908."

It was Manoah's son, the visionary and entrepreneur William Herbert Steves, who got Steveston rolling. He built an opera house in 1890 and started the *Enterprise* newspaper in 1891. The village grew as the teeming river attracted fishermen.

Many Japanese fishermen immigrated to Steveston at that time. Anti-Asian attitudes were strong in the rest of British Columbia, but Steveston allowed the Japanese to come and to

PHOTO BY HANS TAMMEMAGI



Top: A costumed interpreter, left, describes a display about historical fishing practices at the Gulf of Georgia Cannery National Historic Site. Above left: The Britannia Shipyard building is the centrepiece of the Britannia Shipyard National Historic Site. Above right: The slipway at the Murakami Boatworks is part of the Britannia Shipyard National Historic Site.

IF YOU GO

GETTING THERE: The historic Steveston Harbour area is a twenty-minute drive south of Vancouver at the south end of No. 1 Road in Richmond, B.C. By public transit, take the SkyTrain Canada Line to the Richmond-Brighouse station, then transfer to a bus to Steveston.

DO: As part of the Steveston Heritage Experience, costumed interpreters offer a colourful tour of the Britannia Shipyard, the Steveston Tram, the Steveston Museum, and the Gulf of Georgia Cannery.

BUY: Fresh seafood including prawns, crab, shrimp, halibut, cod, salmon, and tuna has been sold to the public from boats at Steveston Harbour since the 1970s, and a public fish sales float has operated at Fisherman's Wharf since 1989.

EAT: The popular floating eatery Pajo's, at the west end of Fisherman's Wharf, is one of several fish and chips restaurants in Steveston.

practise their own culture — and their population steadily grew.

By 1900, Steveston had become one of the largest suppliers of canned salmon, sending it to virtually every major port on the globe. The fishing season transformed the town from a sleepy outpost of four hundred residents to a boisterous, action-packed centre of ten thousand. Money, jobs, and success were like magnets for all kinds of business activities, some of them unsavoury. Shortly after 1900, the town boasted saloons, opium dens, seventeen gambling houses, and — looking totally out of place — the opera house.

Built in 1894, the Gulf of Georgia Cannery was the largest cannery in the area and came to be known as the "monster." Fortunately, it was preserved and is now a National Historic Site.

Speaking to re-enactors in period costume, I learn that earlier working conditions were far different from those of today. Along the cutting and packing line, the re-enactors explain the poor safety practices and describe the long hours and child labour employed by the facility. Particularly alarming, they say, were incidents when screams of pain echoed through the building because a finger had been chopped by a sharp knife or a machine. Panic would follow as some people attended to the injured person while others frantically searched for the lost digit before it got canned.

Chinese, Indigenous, and Japanese workers were given the hardest jobs at low pay and were segregated both at the cannery and in their bunkhouses. To battle discrimination, the Japanese Fishermen's Benevolent Society and the Japanese Hospital were established in the 1890s.

Steveston is fortunate, for it has not one but two National Historic Sites. I next visit the Britannia Shipyard — a sprawling site that includes fourteen restored buildings, some of them constructed as early as 1885. I tour the Murakami Boatworks, with a long slipway that sent finished boats into the water. At a Chinese bunkhouse I sit at a small table and sip tea as a guide explains how Japanese "picture brides" arrived to marry Japanese fishermen. I can imagine how tentatively the women must have approached the strangers to

PHOTOS BY HANS TAMMEMAGI

whom they had been promised.

Disaster struck the area in 1913 when a landslide on the Fraser decimated the salmon runs for many years. The Depression followed, further affecting the canning industry.

Then the world was turned upside down by the Second World War. In 1942, shortly after the 1941 Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, all Japanese Canadians in British Columbia were forced to move one hundred miles (160 kilometres) inland from the coast — despite many families having lived in Canada for generations. This edict hit Steveston hard, as its 2,600 Japanese Canadians then formed about two thirds of the population. They had their belongings confiscated, including hundreds of fishing boats, and this severely harmed the town's economy.

In 1949 Japanese Canadians were allowed to return, but few did. By 1953, however, thanks to special initiatives, almost 1,500 had come back to Steveston. Slowly, the town rebuilt itself and its main industry, fishing. Catches began to grow, and by the 1960s the town was thriving again. In the 1990s, however, salmon stocks dwindled, and increased mechanization resulted in the consolidation of canneries. The last operating cannery closed in 1997.

Steveston is now thriving once again thanks to tourism and fishing. While the fishing fleet has been reduced to six hundred boats, it is still the largest in the country.

I meet with Jim Kojima, a judo master and a member of the Order of Canada who explains that Steveston's resilience owes much to Japanese Canadians. He describes how their commitment to community has continued — with the one major interruption — since the 1890s.

Today there are many Japanese-Canadian organizations, such as the Steveston Judo Club, which is recognized as one of the best in Canada. "Steveston has the oldest Japanese history in the country," Kojima says proudly.

AT THE MUSEUMS

AN EXHIBITION OF MORE than three hundred items created in the decades following the Second World War "reveals the multiple ways modernism was interpreted in British Columbia," says the Vancouver Art Gallery. *Modern in the Making: Post-War Craft and Design in British Columbia* includes furniture, fashion, jewellery, textiles, and ceramics that represent the craftsmanship and functionalism of modernism. Among other items, objects by Nuu-chah-nulth weaver Nellie Jacobson, Haida artist Bill Reid, and others show how Indigenous design contributed to the province's modernization, while creations from the 1960s and 1970s reflect the influence of counterculture movements. The exhibition continues in Vancouver until January 3, 2021.

PLANS FOR THE NEW Chinese Canadian Museum are only taking shape, but the organization behind the project has already helped to launch two temporary exhibits related to Chinese-Canadian history — one in Vancouver and one in Victoria. Both involve collaborations with existing museums. In July, the B.C. government announced $10 million in support for the wider project to be coordinated by the Chinese Canadian Museum Society of BC. That same month, the pop-up exhibit *Peering into the Past: Celebrating Canada's Oldest Chinatown* — which includes artifacts such as historical photographs, a fire-insurance map, and an in-depth look at a Chinese Freemasons lantern — opened in Victoria's Fan Tan Alley, a National Historic Site. It's produced by the Victoria Chinatown Museum Society, the Chinese Canadian Museum's first of several expected regional hubs, in collaboration with the Royal BC Museum and continues into 2021. Meanwhile, in Vancouver's Chinatown, which is expected to be the site of the new museum's main provincial hub, the historic Hon Hsing building is hosting a satellite exhibition that also opened in the summer. It's part of the larger exhibition *A Seat at the Table: Chinese Immigration and British Columbia* produced by the Museum of Vancouver and the University of British Columbia. The Vancouver Chinatown exhibit offers personal stories of Chinese Canadians as part

of the wider exhibition that explores immigration through the lens of food and restaurant culture. The main component of *A Seat at the Table* opens in November at the Museum of Vancouver.

THE CHÂTEAU RAMEZAY museum In Montreal is hosting an exhibit of Montreal landscapes from the Power Corporation of Canada artworks collection. Begun in 1964 by Paul Guy Desmarais, it's considered one of the country's finest corporate art collections and traces the development of Canadian art from 1800 to 1970. Works on display at Château Ramezay until January 2021 portray sites such as Montreal's Bonsecours Market and Notre Dame Basilica as well as historic scenes of steamboats and grain silos.

TOP LEFT: EARLE A. MORRISON AND ROBIN BUSH FOR EARLE A. MORRISON LTD., VICTORIA; AIRFOAM LOUNGE CHAIR (#141), 1951, STEEL ROD, PLYWOOD, WALNUT, UPHOLSTERY. COLLECTION OF ALLAN COLLIER. PHOTO BY IAN LEFEBVRE, VANCOUVER ART GALLERY. RIGHT: COURTESY MUSEUM OF VANCOUVER.

Indigenous and non-Indigenous children take part in Orange Shirt Day, an annual event that commemorates residential school survivors. Canada's History Society recently collaborated with the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation to publish a special Orange Shirt Day educational magazine for children.

One for all, and all for one

When it comes to history, representation matters.

by Janet Walker and Brooke Campbell

"Is that me?!" That was the reaction recently of a boy who was shown a digital issue of *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids* featuring Black history in Canada. The child on the cover was wearing a Sikh headwear item called a *dastaar*.

"It's rare, if ever, that I see a child of Sikh identity illustrated on the cover of any book or magazine," said the boy's mother, Navjot Kaur, an elementary schoolteacher and award-winning children's author.

Kaur reminds us that representation matters. These moments are powerful and highlight the importance of diversity in books and media in Canada.

We know that history resonates with learners when they see themselves reflected in it. We also know that our print and digital audience reflects the diversity of the country and that readers are hungry for stories that share the popular history of Canada's entire population.

Canadians from many cultural backgrounds have been calling for more inclusivity for years, and we as a society are finally listening — and heeding their calls.

History education has also evolved. It's no longer just about remembering the past — it's about engaging and educating new generations and inspiring them to transform the future. Our podcasts, videos, webinars, and social media help to connect readers, listeners, and viewers across the country. Sharing our stories — everyone's stories — helps to create a more inclusive Canadian community.

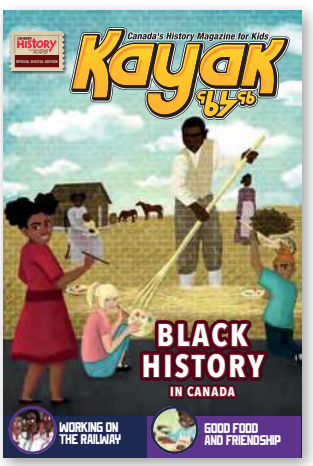
These stories include everything from the experiences of young Syrian refugees, to oral histories from the LGBTQ community in Alberta, to discussions with Indigenous peoples about the need to share and to support authentic Indigenous histories.

By amplifying varied voices, we reach new audiences that further reflect the Canadian experience.

Exciting developments are underway. We have recently launched a new online youth channel to cultivate the next generation of leaders. The channel — part of our mobile-responsive CanadasHistory.ca website — will soon host more than one thousand existing student videos and will help to stimulate online exchanges between students, teachers, and education coordinators.

We are committed to greater diversity because we know that representation matters. The history community knows it, too. Increasingly, educators, students, organizations, and the public are thinking creatively about how to work together to explore the contributions of people of all cultures who have made Canada their home.

Going forward, we hope every child will see our magazine, a podcast, a video, or a webinar and say, not with incredulity but with pride, "That's me!"

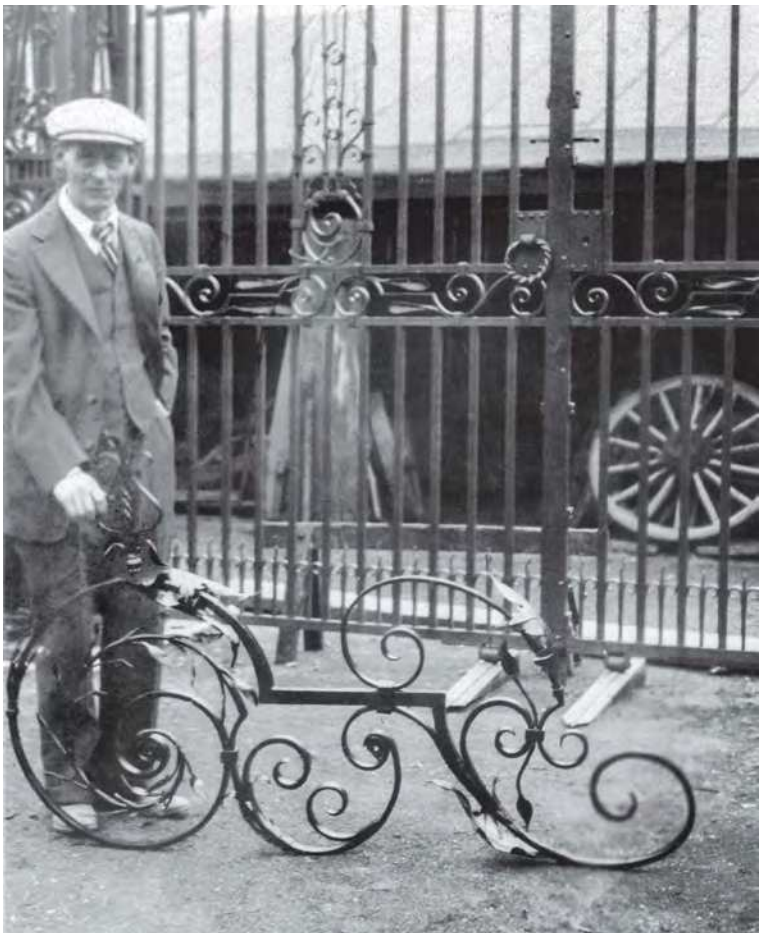


This issue of *Kayak: Canada's History for Kids* explored Black history in Canada.

ANDREW WORKMAN

FAST FACTS

- Our audience of 1.4 million readers is trending younger, and includes many Canadians living in households with children under eighteen.
- Thirty per cent of our readers were born outside of Canada. Of these, more than two hundred thousand have lived in Canada less than ten years, and most use a language other than English or French at home.
- Millennials are an emerging powerhouse of more than half a million readers.



Master craftsman

The photograph at the left shows my grandfather, Frederick J. Flatman, standing before one of the finest of his wrought-iron creations, the Hendrie Gates, which were commissioned by George M. Hendrie in 1931 for installation at the Royal Botanical Gardens in Burlington, Ontario. The Hendrie family at that time donated forty-nine hectares for the gardens.

My grandfather was born in London, England, in 1876. He served his blacksmithing apprenticeship at the Great Western Railway in Swindon, Wiltshire, and worked for a decade at the Royal Arsenal in Woolwich, before emigrating to Hamilton in 1910. As a confirmed socialist, he swiftly became a thorn in the side of the establishment due to his unrelenting efforts to improve conditions for workers. Besides being a skilled craftsman, he was a labour leader and a journalist, at one time editing Hamilton's *Labor News* and later founding and editing the *New Democracy*.

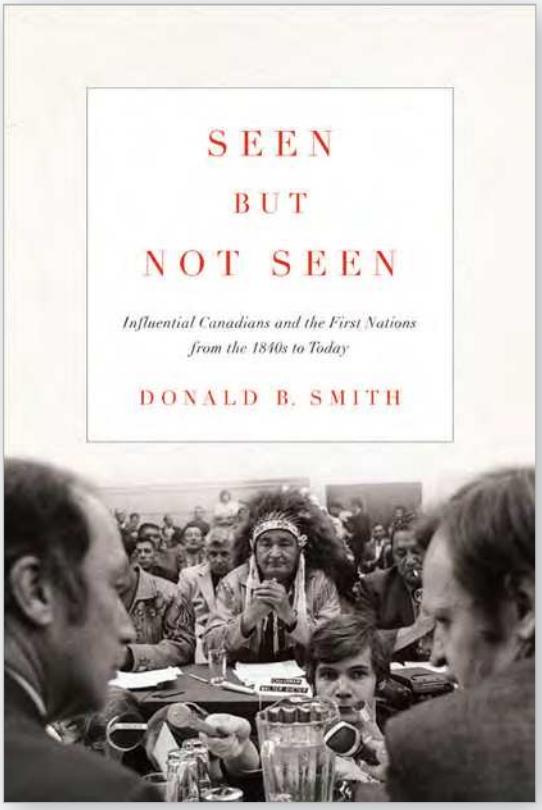
Although much of his work has been lost, five of Flatman's gates can still be seen, including at the Oakes Garden Theatre and Niagara Parks School of Horticulture, both in Niagara Falls, Ontario, and the Navy Hall in nearby Queenston (where the gate was built entirely from scrap metal during the Second World War). He also hand-forged the lengthy fencing that prevents teeming hordes of visitors to Niagara Falls from falling into the drink.

Flatman created the Hendrie Gates between 1931 and 1933. They were stored for years in a barn near Hamilton's McMaster University, and these photos were made sometime around 1938 by Lucy Flatman Newcombe, my grandfather's daughter, when the gates were temporarily set up outside the barn at the request of the Hendrie family. The gates were finally installed in 1953 at the Royal Botanical Gardens and have since been designated to the Ontario Heritage Trust due to their "historical and architectural value and interest."

Submitted by Victoria Lees of Outremont, Quebec, the granddaughter of F.J. Flatman.

Do you have a black-and-white or colour photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in Canada's history? If so, have it copied (please don't send priceless originals) and mail it to Album, c/o Canada's History, Bryce Hall, Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9. Or email your photo to album@CanadasHistory.ca. Please provide a brief description of the photo, including its date and location, details about people appearing in the photograph, and further information about the event or situation illustrated. Photos may be adjusted for presentation in the magazine.

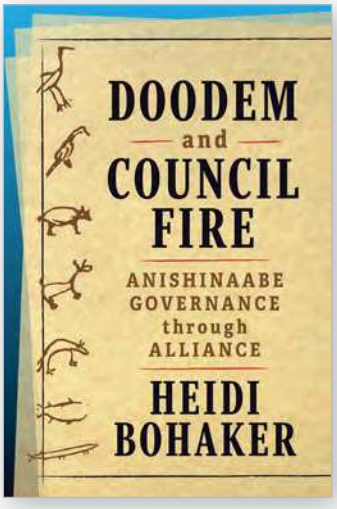
New from **University of Toronto Press**



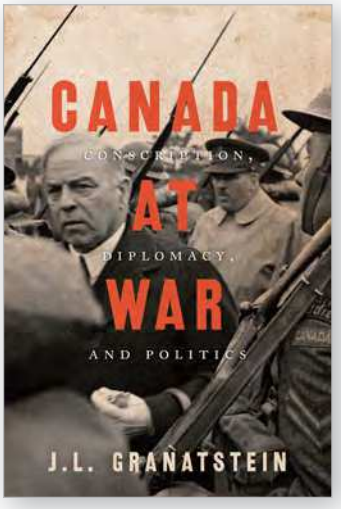
PAPER | 9781442627703

"Donald B. Smith's *Seen but Not Seen* could not possibly be more timely – and more welcome. This is the lifework of one of the country's greatest historians."

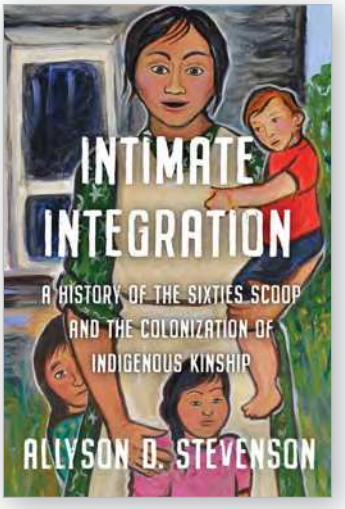
Roy MacGregor, columnist and feature writer for *The Globe and Mail*



CLOTH | 9781442647312



PAPER | 9781487524760



PAPER | 9781487520458

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

all of our books are available as ebooks

@utpress | utorontopress.com

OUR PAST SHAPES OUR FUTURE • NOTRE PASSÉ TRANSFORME NOTRE FUTUR •

CANADA'S HISTORY SOCIETY

The importance of understanding Canada by examining the histories of its peoples has been an anchoring belief of Canada's History Society. Established in 1994 through the generous support of the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation, we bring relevance and awareness to our nation's diverse past, illuminating the people, places, and events that unite us as Canadians.

The society's work includes: *Canada's History* magazine, *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*, CanadasHistory.ca, and the Governor General's History Awards.

SOCIÉTÉ HISTOIRE CANADA

L'importance de comprendre notre propre identité par le truchement de l'histoire est au cœur de la philosophie de la Société Histoire Canada. Le travail de la Société, fondée en 1994 grâce au généreux soutien de la Fondation d'histoire de la Compagnie de la baie d'Hudson, consiste à faire connaître le passé diversifié de notre pays et à l'ancrer dans le contexte actuel, mais également à mettre en valeur les gens, les lieux et les événements qui nous unissent en tant que Canadiens.

La Société offre notamment aux Canadiens le magazine *Histoire Canada*, le magazine *Kayak : Navigue dans l'histoire du Canada*, le site HistoireCanada.ca et les Prix d'histoire du Gouverneur général.

CANADA'S HISTORY · HISTOIRE CANADA · Kayak

HBC Corporate Collection. Used with permission. *Chief Trader Archibald McDonald Departing for France, 1838* by Adam Sherriff Scott, ca. 1942.